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THE Dutch, in suddenly deciding upon extraordinary military precautions, have shown fear of something which is not evident to the rest of the world. There is little doubt that the instigation is to be found somewhere among the war resolutions of the Allies, made recently at their council in Paris; but these resolutions, so far as they are known, appear innocuous to neutral interests. The solution of the Dutch problem should be viewed not so much in the light of actual facts, as in the state of the German mind; for it is fairly certain that German spies have reported, rightly or wrongly, that the Allies mean to strike through Holland at the unprotected German flank, at Essen and at Aix. If the Germans really thought there was any serious danger of that, they could not afford to wait; they would strike first. Therefore it behooves the Dutch to mobilize and to entrench their frontiers; and that is the secret, in all likelihood, of their military precautions. For it must never be forgotten that the Allies would attack Germany through Holland if the Dutch made such an operation feasible, and that the Germans, with Belgium on their conscience, are ready enough to expect and resist hostilities. But nothing save a deliberate invasion will bring Holland into the war, and she will then take the side against the invader, whether he be English or German. For Holland knows that if an English army lands at Flushing, the succeeding operations will take place on Dutch soil. As regards what would happen then, the Dutch have only to look through their south windows; they can see Belgium with their own eyes.

SENATOR CUMMINS may possibly have endeared himself to the railroad-baiting part of his constituency by his attitude in the Brandeis matter. But he has certainly not quelled the suspicion entertained throughout the country that very little constructive ability is to be found behind his brave political front. Brandeis, employed to take the public side of the question at issue between the railways and the shippers, admitted in his closing argument that the net revenues of the railways were inadequate. "If," says Senator Cummins, "such action does not merit the penalties attached to betrayal, then I confess I do not understand either common morality among men or the ethics of the profession to which Mr. Brandeis belongs." Possibly Senator Cummins does understand the rules of the legal game, misnamed legal ethics. But he will probably never be quoted as authority on common morality if he cannot conceive of the attorney for the public as more interested in seeing justice done than in winning the government's case.

AS the military correspondent of the London *Times* says very truly, the cardinal mistake of the Germans was that they thought of Verdun in terms of Kovno, and of the Meuse in terms of the Dunajec. The methods which proved so successful against Russia in 1915 have failed to produce any extraordinary results against the inferior defensive organization of France. Whether the object of the Germans was political or diplomatic

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or military; whether or not Verdun eventually falls, their effort has still failed. For after all Verdun is only a salient, a bridge-head, an immense point of support. It is not the "gate" to Paris. It is not the "key" of anything. It is not worth the German losses. Moreover there is some danger in the employment of 25 out of 118 German divisions at a single point on the west front. The British have made a demonstration at St. Eloi, the Italians on the Isonzo, the Russians in Galicia. Patrol engagements are reported on the Serbian border above Saloniki. Kuropatkin has been making a serious attack near Dvinsk; the fifty German divisions remaining on the east front will presently be in need of reinforcement too. Indeed the truth cannot be told too often that the Germans need win a great victory in France or Russia this year in order to occupy a stronger position than the Allies in negotiating for peace.

EXCESSIVE profits from public contracts and supplies are always an evil. They are an inevitable source of political corruption. The only hope for pure government lies in the adoption of the no-profit principle in all contractual relations between the state and private business, and its enforcement through a competent technical staff employed by the government. Profits from armament and munitions are doubly dangerous. They corrupt legislation, like other profits, and in the process of influencing the public mind they create an international suspicion that menaces the peace of the world. As compared with the dangers entailed by a loose policy of overfeeding the private armament concerns, the costs of the alleged inefficiency of public operation are wholly negligible. If the Bethlehem Steel Company wishes to persuade Congress to drop the project of an armor-plate plant, it will emphasize the point that it intends to base its bids upon cost, including nothing above a fair return on capital.

THE Bethlehem Steel Company argues that the British and other foreign governments have relied upon private supply of munitions and ordnance, and these have proved their worth to the nation in time of supreme need; therefore we ought not to discourage private enterprise in this field by the erection of a public armor-plate plant. There is no doubt that the British are under deep obligations to Vickers and Maxim and Whitehead and the rest for their effective response to the imperative national need, just as the Germans are under deep obligations to Krupps and the French to the works at Creusot. But Krupps would hardly have become so imposing an establishment, so menacing to the peace of Europe, if it had not been for the parallel growth of Creusot and the British armament concerns. In the warring countries scarcely a voice is now to be heard setting forth the evils of the war-scare mongering prevalent in Europe ten years ago which helped to make the war inevitable. This is no reason why we should ignore the sinister possibilities inherent in fat profits from anticipated wars.

ADOPTION of the metric system by American industry would entail much initial confusion and extensive scrapping of fixed capital. Most manufacturers oppose the reform; most scientists approve it. As Mr. Halsey of the *American Mechanic* puts it, "Those who make things instead of merely measuring them regard the argument for the system as without weight, and the cost of its adoption so great as to make it impossible." Evidently Mr. Halsey regards "merely measuring things," as a function of very slight importance. But with the progress of industry, increasing importance attaches to the measuring function. When all the secrets of our late conversion to munitions exports are out, we shall accord a decidedly lower place in our esteem to the men who make things without too serious concern for the accuracy of their measurements. Machine guns that jam, shrapnel shells that very nearly fit or explode just a little ahead of gauge, are among the impressions of America said to be rather current on the other side. The metric system would not mend us all at once, but its adoption would indicate an intention on our part to admit the scientific claims as to the value of accuracy.

DR. ABRAHAM FLEXNER'S manifesto of a modern school, issued this week by the General Education Board, cuts out at a blow all the tangled controversy of schoolmen over what shall be taught and why. The modern school would include nothing in its curriculum for which an affirmative case cannot now be made out. Grammar, formal history, dead languages, formal mathematics, are in the school now because of tradition and assumption. It is useless to ask whether a knowledge of these subjects is valuable. The fact is that children to-day do not get value from them. That is all a modern school need know. What they do get value from is the activities and appreciations of the world about them. This will be the curriculum of the modern school. Children will study not subjects, but objects. The city, with its harbor, its museums and libraries, its zoölogical gardens, its streets, its lectures, concerts, plays, will be the text-book for the city school. "The man educated in the modern sense will be trained to know, to care about and to understand the world

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he lives in, both the physical world and the social world." This is the approach. The details, the technique, the paraphernalia of this modern school are now being semi-consciously worked out in many different schools. Dr. Flexner's manifesto puts the whole problem as concisely as it can be put. He gives us a standard, upon which progressive educators already agree, and which can be used to test and to judge the individual school. If the teacher is to have an educational creed, this is the creed for the American school of the immediate morrow.

DESPERATE Republicans looking for a reactionary but popular Presidential candidate can do better than open publicity headquarters for such aspirants as Mr. du Pont of Delaware, Professor E. J. James of Illinois, or Mr. Henry D. Estabrook of—is it New York? While the season is still open we hasten to suggest an unimpeachable conservative, a flatterer of worldly powers, a thorough believer in preparedness and the glories of war, who would have a far greater chance of election, if that be possible, than any of these gentlemen. One of the greatest publicity campaigns ever known in America, with offices in New York and other cities, is bringing his name to the lips of millions. He is being boomed in truly American fashion. He is talked of on Broadway and Wall Street, school-children conspire to do him honor, and Percy MacKaye has written an ode to him. His words are quoted in every home, for he was born a phrasemaker. Yet he is innocent of social insurance, government ownership and all the delusions of modern radicalism. His vested interests are as enduring as the English language. His opinions have not changed for three hundred years. William Shakespeare for President!

MR. HEARST is his own worst enemy. This is a thing difficult for a man to be whose other enemies are so many and so well supplied with munitions. But Mr. Hearst, stimulated by competition, overcomes the difficulty. "The newspapers will report this fight," so he has told some of his favorite clergymen, "but they do not approve of fights. The newspapers report the facts about the Waite murder, but they do not approve of murders." No fouler libel has been uttered against Mr. Hearst than what is here implied. In days long past he may have hired a few murderers to write or sign their autobiographies. We do not remember. But when, as the day of an important murder approached, has he published a document purporting to be the murderer's diary, and giving an account of the preparations which all hands were making for the crime? Has he ever advertised in his papers the place where, and the day and hour when, the impending crime would be committed? Has he ever hired an ex-murderer to be present at the stabbing, shooting or poisoning, and to criticize the same, vicariously, from a technical standpoint? Everybody knows that Mr. Hearst has done none of these things, and that his attitude toward murder is therefore quite unlike his attitude toward prize-fighting. In the case of no murder that we know of has Mr. Hearst been an accessory before the fact.

IT is hard to see why the Hollis rural credits bill should have been received so coldly. The bill provides for twelve or more Federal land banks with a paid-up capital of $500,000, authorized to make loans on improved farm property up to fifty per cent of the appraised value and for a term of thirty-six years, but payable in whole or in part at any interest date after five years. Funds for such loans are to be derived in first instance from the capital of the land banks, and subsequently from the sale of debentures corresponding in volume to that of the loans and bearing interest one per cent in excess of that paid by the borrower. These debentures are to be exempt from all taxation and are made a lawful investment for all fiduciary and trust funds. What the plan amounts to is a preliminary step toward the mobilization of farm loan credit. If it succeeds we may expect auxiliary measures to encourage the transformation of tenant holdings into independent farms and to provide adequate working capital for agriculture.

A JOURNAL like the *Cambridge Magazine*—edited by members, presumably undergraduates, of Cambridge University—is a very extraordinary phenomenon in any of the belligerent countries. Humor and detachment are not the qualities we associate with the youth of a nation engaged in a gigantic and perilous war. A recent number reprints an arresting pamphlet, suppressed in Germany, by the Vienna economist, Rudolph Goldscheid, called "Germany's Greatest Danger." The argument is that if Germany does not make both peace and alliance with England, her Junkers will force her into peace and alliance with Russia, to the peril of all western civilization. Detachment could hardly go farther than thus featuring a proposal for alliance with your present deadly enemy against your present beloved Muscovite ally. Humor appears in a forecast of Cambridge in 1917. The university is shown responding to the call of "business and efficiency," executing the "faineant devotees of research," and introducing military training as a necessary corollary for matriculation. Viscount H. G. Wells gives courses on the History of Business Governments; Mr. Lowes Dickinson

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and Mr. Bertrand Russell have just taken Holy Orders, converted by the Bishop of London's volume on "The Militarism of Jesus," "which proved so conclusively that our Lord was in favor of Compulsion of Married Men." The Museum is still usefully employed as a depot for military stores, and proposals for reopening the University Library are habitually vetoed. Is the *Cambridge Magazine* a symptom of "the peacefulness of being at war"?

A Luncheon and a Moral

MR. ROOT and Mr. Roosevelt have lunched together, have announced that they have lunched together, have even told us what they talked about. They talked about preparedness. Many people seem in doubt as to whether they really talked about preparedness, but for our part we believe it. Does any one suppose they talked about the Convention of 1912, or the recall of judicial decisions, or woman suffrage, or Mr. Gifford Pinchot's views on conservation, or the necessity for drastic inheritance and income taxes, or the elimination of sweating and tenant farming, or the educational value of the labor union? They talked military preparedness with perhaps some reference to foreign policy.

What we are witnessing is the attempt to form a coalition government in time of great national emergency. This at least is the way the matter looks to those Republicans and Progressives who are preparing to unite. A vigorous foreign policy established by increased armaments has become the paramount issue, beside which all other considerations are for the time being negligible. What internal question, they ask, is even comparable to the need of reassuring American prestige in the world and of organizing American military power?

The man who is elected next November will take office in March, 1917. The war will be over or just drawing to a close, and the administration will have two supreme problems before it: the adjustment of American foreign policy to the situation in Europe, and the reconstruction of American social conditions to meet the revolutionary changes in Europe. However unimportant domestic issues may look at this moment, they will wear a different aspect in the next five years. This is the decisive reason why liberals must remain uncompromisingly critical of the Progressive-Republican coalition.

There is little doubt in our minds that Mr. Roosevelt represents a larger measure of qualification for the task ahead than any other man in public life. His grasp of international affairs is surer, his instinct for organization is better. But he is an extremely impressionable man altogether too likely to take his color from the people he is most intimately associated with. Put him with reformers, and he is aglow with enthusiasm. Surround him with defense leagues, and he will go the militarist one better. Great leader that he is, there are few men so easily led, and the kind of President he would make will depend largely on the kind of people who have access to him. He is capable of standing for the whole formula of conscription-imperialism-and-the-right-of-wealth-to-govern. He is capable of courageous and ingenious assertion of the popular and national need against selfish interests.

It is the business of the Progressives to do something more than nominate Theodore Roosevelt. It is their business to fight for the possession of his soul. If they elect him, they will have to keep on fighting within the coalition. That is why they dare not be hero worshippers believing in Roosevelt at any price. To be sure they will not gain his personal affection if they insist on their own independence. Mr. Roosevelt demands a kind of loyalty which many who admire him will not give. But they are pretty gullible citizens who are so blinded by Mr. Roosevelt's virtue that they cannot remain openly and good-humoredly critical of him.

The Archaic Two-Party System

ORDERLY popular government is no doubt in a measure dependent upon formal constitutional and legal systems. It is also dependent upon the number and character of political parties, and the relation of party organization to social forces. Who has not drawn contrasts between the political cosmos of Anglo-Saxon politics and the political chaos of the states of continental Europe? In the Anglo-Saxon cosmos we find the two-party system, Government and Opposition. The party in power exercises a constructive function while the opposition devotes itself to criticism. The two parties change position and function often enough to prevent the party in power from waxing fat and corrupt, and the opposition from waning into inanity and destructiveness. In the continental chaos, on the other hand, we find a multiplicity of little parties, arranged in semicircle from extreme Right to extreme Left—baffling terms, indicative of relativity and want of principle—and actual government conducted by *blocs* of elements constantly coalescing or drawing apart, with much futile noise and flashing, like April thunder-caps.

In Anglo-Saxondom there are, to be sure, periods when a third party appears. But such a third party

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lives only so long as it has a working chance of becoming the second party or the first; and in the event that it succeeds, the dissolution of the old party crowded to third place follows infallibly. The Populist party died not because of evaporation of principles but because of the fatal discouragement of third place. The Progressive party is dying or dead, just because it was forced to third place in the last Congressional elections. Only the Socialist party lives on in insignificance. We can't account for the fact; let us treat it as a freak of nature.

It appears then clearly that the two-party system is founded in right reason and democratic principle. But wait: something seems to depend on what the two parties stand for. Suppose that their principles are diametrically opposed: the one stands for free labor and the other for slavery. How then does the charmed alternation of power and opposition work? With what spirit does the party in power surrender the government to its opponents? With the ugliest and most ominous spirit in the world; with open threats of recourse to civil arms. Our own history shows where such a partisan struggle ends. Suppose that at some future time the two great parties, in England or the United States, are the Labor party and the Capital party. No one need doubt that the strife between them would take the form of war without quarter. The one in possession of the government would yield only after exhausting all the resources of force and fraud.

A two-party system is compatible with orderly and efficient government only when the two parties share a large common capital of principle, or to put it baldly, stand for practically the same things. And this condition obtains only where one class is fully dominant in society, and the two parties merely represent different methods of advancing the interest of the class, or where society is essentially homogeneous. For a century and more the middle class has been dominant in British life—a consequence of England's position as mistress of the seas and workshop of the world. Both great parties have aimed at the same object, to advance British business interests at home and abroad. To the outsider not interested in personalities, there is little visible difference between the country saved under the one party or lost under the other. In the United States, except for the period of the slavery struggle, partisan differences have been mostly fictitious. There is a very narrow margin of practical fact between Democratic free trade and Republican protection, between Republican extravagance and Democratic retrenchment. Filling the offices has for years been the chief object of political strivings.

But homogeneity and undisputed class control are transitory phases in national development. In England labor has already broken with the middle-class politics that pretended to represent it. Land reform is likely to produce another political force not easy to compromise with tradition. In the United States neither the labor nor the agrarian interest is anywhere near organized self-consciousness. The laborers and the farmers are fairly distributed between the two great parties, and their particular claims are stilled by sops. The farmers get protective duties against the importation of farm products of which we have an excess, widely distributed literature on cut-worms and live-stock diseases, etc. The laborers get concessions, chiefly illusory, like the labor clause of the Clayton act, and the Tavenner bill throwing scientific management out of government arsenals. But at almost any time something may occur to shock the farmers or the laborers into political self-consciousness. We may recall the signs of agrarian factionalism in the opposition to the Payne-Aldrich tariff and Canadian reciprocity. We shall see more of them as we advance to the stage of a food-importing country. As for labor, no one knows when a reactionary judicial decision, or an unfortunate arbitration in such a matter as a railway strike, will create a labor party here, as the Taff Vale decision created one in England.

Economic evolution has already progressed far beyond the homogeneous state in which we developed our political traditions, and there is every indication that the trend toward social heterogeneity is strengthening. We cannot confine governmental activity to the field of common interest; we must accept the necessity of compromise. If we had each interest represented in Congress and the legislatures by a party under the discipline of its own leaders, we should have the machinery for effecting compromises, of bringing conflicting forces to an equilibrium. If, for example, labor were directly and adequately represented in the New York legislature to-day, it would not necessarily confine itself to an attempt to kill the State Police bill. It could take into consideration the possibility of accepting a state police, in exchange for concessions of superior value. If the labor representatives in Congress were independently organized, and as numerous as they ought to be in view of the magnitude of the interests they have to defend, they would not necessarily seek to exclude scientific management from government works, but could consider under what regulations this new force might be utilized for the benefit of labor. The function of class representatives attached to the fringe of a traditional political party is essentially negative. They can interfere with the enactment of bad measures, but they have little power to secure the enactment of good ones. Unionists in Congress can help to keep conditions as they are; but labor cannot be content with conditions as they are. It may be very well for the

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present to concentrate upon the purely economic factors of the labor struggle. But sooner or later the necessity will arise of handling also the legal factors constructively. And for this, independent political organization is necessary.

The two-party system is obsolete, so far as constructive legislative purposes are concerned. It enjoys, however, a fictitious vitality, as a convenient method of filling the offices. It is conceivable, therefore, that it may long persist. But if it does so it will be inevitable that the practical interests which fail to find adequate representation will gradually align themselves with one of the parties, which will ultimately extrude the interests that have reason to be contented. In the end we shall have a two-party system with a sharp division on vital principles. And this, as we have seen, will be the condition most menacing to political order and progress.

Mr. Abbott to the Defense

IN *The Outlook* of March 29th, 1916, Mr. Lawrence F. Abbott accuses Mr. Roosevelt's critics of garbling the text on the question of whether the Colonel changed his mind between September and November, 1914, about America's duty to Belgium. In attempting to clear up the matter we may begin by recalling what is Mr. Roosevelt's present creed about Belgium. It is stated on page 153 of "Fear God and Take Your Own Part":

> If no duty had been expressly imposed upon the United States in this matter, we ought nevertheless to have acted in accordance with the generous instincts of humanity. But as a matter of fact such a duty was expressly imposed upon us by the Hague Conventions. The Convention, signed at the Hague October 18, 1907, begins by saying that "His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia," and the other signatory powers, including France, Belgium, Russia and the United States, have resolved to conclude a Convention laying down clearly the rights and duties of neutrals in case of war on land. Article 1 runs: "The territory of neutral powers is inviolable." Article 5 states that a neutral power "must not allow belligerents to move troops across its territory." Article 10 states that "the fact of a neutral power resisting even by force attempts to violate its neutrality cannot be regarded as a hostile act." Article 7 states that "a neutral power is not called upon to prevent the export or transport on behalf of one or the other of the belligerents of arms, munitions of war or in general of anything which could be of use to an army or a fleet." This Convention was ratified by Belgium on August 8, 1910; by France on October 7, 1910; by Germany, the United States and Russia on November 27, 1909. It has been alleged by individuals anxious to excuse us for failure to act in accordance with our duty under this Convention that Article 20 recites: "The provisions of the present Convention do not apply except between contracting powers, and then only if all the belligerents are parties to the Convention." In the first place this objection would be merely technical, even if in some other area of the war a belligerent who was not a party to the Convention was concerned; for of course the Convention must be construed with common sense. But even if it is construed in the most technical manner, it applies to the action taken by Germany in Belgium. This action was taken on August 3rd and 4th, 1914. Germany was then at war only with France and Russia, both of which were signatories to this Convention. Belgium was a signatory. The United States was a signatory. Germany was not at war at that time with Serbia or Montenegro or England; nor was Austria at war with Belgium. When Germany violated the Hague Convention to which we were one of the signatory powers all of the belligerents in the case were signers of the Hague Convention. The case is technically no less than morally complete.

Such is Mr. Roosevelt's view to-day of America's duty in August 1914. Such has been his view since the *Times* article of November 8th, 1914. But it was not his view on September 23rd, 1914—in the *Outlook* article which he wrote while Belgium was being conquered. Here is the passage which refers to Belgium; the italics are Mr. Lawrence Abbott's and the comment in brackets is also his:

> A deputation of Belgians has arrived in this country to invoke our assistance in the time of their dreadful need. What action our Government can or will take I know not. It has been *announced* [Mr. Glynn changes the word *announced* into *assumed*] that no action can be taken that will interfere with our entire neutrality. It is certainly eminently desirable that we should remain entirely neutral, and nothing but urgent need would warrant breaking our neutrality and taking sides one way or the other. *Our first duty is to hold ourselves ready to do whatever the changing circumstances demand in order to protect our own interests in the present and in the future; although, for my own part, I desire to add to this statement the proviso that under no circumstances must we do anything dishonorable, especially towards unoffending weaker nations. Neutrality may be of prime necessity in order to preserve our own interests, to maintain peace in so much of the world as is not affected by the war, and to conserve our influence for helping toward the re-establishment of general peace when the time comes; for if any outside Power is able at such time to be the medium for bringing peace, it is more likely to be the United States than any other. But we pay the penalty of this action on behalf of peace for ourselves, and possibly for others in the future, by forfeiting our right to do anything on behalf of peace for the Belgians in the present. We can maintain our neutrality only by refusal to do anything to aid unoffending weak Powers which are dragged into the gulf of bloodshed and misery through no fault of their own.* Of course it would be folly to jump into the gulf ourselves to no good purpose; and very probably nothing that we could have done would have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest re-

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sponsibility for what has befallen her [I interpret this sentence to mean that we have not the smallest share in the guilt; a man may not be in the slightest responsible for the murder of a neighbor and yet have a deep responsibility to share in the work of apprehending the murderer], and I am sure that the sympathy of this country for the suffering of the men, women, and children of Belgium is very real. Nevertheless, this sympathy is compatible with full acknowledgment of the unwisdom of our uttering a single word of official protest unless we are prepared to make that protest effective; and only the clearest and most urgent National duty would ever justify us in deviating from our rule of neutrality and non-interference. *But it is a grim comment on the professional pacificist theories as hitherto developed that our duty to preserve peace for ourselves may necessarily mean the abandonment of all effective effort to secure peace for other unoffending nations which through no fault of their own are dragged into the war.*

In Mr. Abbott's opinion the italicized passages prove that Mr. Roosevelt did not change his mind about our duty to Belgium. It seems to us that they prove the exact opposite. They show deep sympathy for Belgium, they express regret that we cannot help Belgium, but the very fact that Mr. Roosevelt was regretting our impotence establishes the point that in those days he did not believe the case was "technically no less than morally complete" for an American protest about Belgium. The time for the protest was the last week of July or the first week of August, 1914. Yet here on September 23rd, after Liege, Louvain, Namur, after the Battle of the Marne, there is not a single word about our duty under the Hague Conventions, or even our duty in morals. Mr. Abbott says that Mr. Roosevelt was giving the President a free hand. That is a strange proceeding seven weeks after the crime has been committed. For if the case was technically and morally complete what did Mr. Roosevelt mean by excusing inaction long after the time for a protest had passed ?

Correspondents have written to us asking why THE NEW REPUBLIC emphasizes this matter. We have emphasized it because a real injustice has been done to President Wilson, and because great harm has been done to his prestige in the Allied countries. For Mr. Roosevelt has led the world to believe that he would have played a nobler part at the time Belgium was invaded, and has given the weight of his name to the accusation that America shirked its duty. These documents show that in August, 1914, Mr. Roosevelt was still under the spell of the old American habit of non-interference.

The final reason for pressing the point is that it illustrates vividly that absence of intellectual candor which is the bane of American politics. If Mr. Roosevelt would only confess that he is human, that he changed his mind, it would be like a gale of fresh air in American public life. But in politics only very great men make such confessions. The usual course is to pretend to a consistency of virtue and never to admit that you are wrong.

The Control of Immigration

FREEDOM of migration from one country to another appears to be one of the elements in nineteenth-century liberalism that is fated to disappear. The responsibility of the state for the welfare of its individual members is progressively increasing. The democracy of to-day is intolerant of disease, degeneracy, poverty. It cannot permit these social ills to be aggravated by excessive immigration. The complicated governmental problems of a modern democratic nation demand the intelligent attention of the whole public. And this implies the necessity of a considerable degree of homogeneity. We permit at our peril the planting on our soil of unassimilable communities. It is such considerations that appear to animate the supporters of the Burnett Immigration bill, with its added restrictions aimed at mental disease, its literacy test and increased head tax. The fear is entertained that with the close of the war there will be a huge influx of aliens fleeing from the poverty that will oppress Europe in the immediate future and the wars of revenge that may follow. Poland, Galicia and Serbia have hundreds of thousands of families uprooted by the war, among whom emigration societies and the agents of shipping companies will find hosts of recruits. These people are largely illiterate; and the Burnett bill, if it becomes law, will close the doors of the United States to them.

Granting the effectiveness of the Burnett bill as a measure of restriction, it does not follow that it will achieve the ends which alone can justify a restrictive policy. We do not want inferior peoples added to our stock: we already have enough of the stupid and inefficient. But the illiteracy of the minor Slavic races offers not the slightest proof of congenital inferiority. It implies poverty and oppression, but nothing could be more absurd than to make a disgrace out of these misfortunes. We do not want the unassimilable. But those stocks that are ground down by alien oppression, held in hopeless poverty and ignorance, are not the ones that will longest cherish loyalty to their countries of origin. It is the English, Germans and French, not the Slovaks, Ruthenians and Lithuanians, who remain attached to their home land into the third generation. We do not want our labor market swamped by a huge influx of competitive labor. But the immigrants from the lesser Slavic nations are not as a rule competitors of the native-born Americans.

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They flow to the construction and mining camps and perform the rough labor that must be got out of the way before opportunities emerge for the American born to make comfortable livings. We can easily have too much of this kind of labor, as we can have too little of it. We can have too much of it in one part of the country and too little in another. And this points to the chief defect of the Burnett bill. It aims to restrict immigration, when there is very little reason for believing that restriction as a permanent policy is desirable. It makes no attempt whatever to regulate immigration according to the general economic condition of the country or to distribute it according to local needs. It does not provide in any way for the contingency that literate immigration may become excessive. Yet it is a well known fact that the transportation of emigrants is such an important part of the business of ocean shipping that powerful forces will be set in motion to replace the illiterate emigrants by others able to pass the literacy test. Fewer Poles will be recruited from the Russian provinces and more from the German; fewer Serbians from Serbia and Montenegro and more from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nobody can tell just how the new restriction will work, or whether it will operate to the advancing of our national purposes or to their prejudice.

If we are to abandon the generous if haphazard American policy of admitting immigrants freely, to make their fortunes or go down according to their abilities and the chances of their environment, let us do it in the interest of a well considered social policy. The immigration question is essentially a labor question. When there is abundant employment for new immigrants, they prosper from coming here, and we prosper from their presence. They become loyal to their new home and want to be assimilated; we assume a friendly attitude toward them and do our part toward their assimilation. Where immigrants find difficulty in securing employment, the process of assimilation is checked. Laborers are bitterly hostile to them and property owners view them as possible public charges. We treat them as undesirable accessions socially and thereby help to make them undesirable. We ought to regulate immigration with respect to conditions of employment, not by crude and illusory tests applied mechanically at the ports of entry.

But this implies that we ought to have a national labor policy, of which our immigration policy would be merely a part. It is time, however, for us to have a labor policy. We already collect fragmentary information as to the labor market in various parts of the country. We could systematize this work and connect it with administrative supervision of labor exchanges, public and private. Through an adequate service of this kind we could readily determine whether the labor market of any section of the country would absorb immigrant labor without displacing men already employed, and without creating a tendency toward declining wages. We should then need to district the country under a federal commission with power to impose restrictions upon immigration or to withdraw them, and with power to apply measures of discrimination—say differential head taxes—to regulate the flow of immigration into the several districts according to local conditions of employment. At the same time measures of discrimination might be employed to regulate the kind of immigration. If skilled labor is much in demand while common labor is present in superfluity, there is reason for relieving immigrants who can qualify as skilled laborers from a head tax. If such a method of control were adopted, the shipping companies engaged in transporting immigrants would sooner or later be forced to work in subordination to the commission. They would encourage immigration or discourage it according to the chances of admission. It is to be noted that since we adopted sanitary restrictions the shipping companies themselves have been active agencies in excluding the unfit and the diseased.

The work of regulating immigration according to any such principle would, of course, be difficult. The commission would be accused, now of encouraging immigration for the benefit of employers, now of discouraging it for the benefit of labor. But we cannot escape class quarrels over the immigration question by a policy of laissez-faire, or by a policy of disingenuous restrictions. Moreover it would be possible to refute charges of class bias through the accumulation and publication of sufficient and accurate statistics of employment and wages. And such statistics would be of incalculable value, quite apart from their regulative purpose.

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The Hay Bill

IN dealing with the subject of military preparation—and I must leave the question of naval preparation for another article—it must be kept in mind that there are in America, among the supporters of preparation for war, two distinct points of view. One party, a very large party, desires just enough preparation to guarantee national security from invasion, in order that the nation may have freedom to work out the American theory of civilization and American ideals. The other party desires universal military service, not so much because they believe it necessary in a military sense, but because they believe that personal manhood service, discipline and solidarity would be the very salvation of the American nation. While I am a professed believer in universal military service, it is nevertheless with the proposals for national security, not national service, that I mean to deal, since the supporters of those proposals are unquestionably in the saddle, and since it is along those lines only that immediate progress can be made.

In what way can military security be most intelligently guaranteed without resorting to universal service? Let me quote from the testimony of General Leonard Wood before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs:

> *Senator Beckham.* General, you, of course, as a general scheme of preparation favor universal training?
>
> *General Wood.* Yes, sir.
>
> *Senator Beckham.* Leaving that aside, assuming that can not be taken up in this Congress, what is the next best thing to do? Do you think this continental army plan is a feasible thing?
>
> *General Wood.* Give us all you can give us in the regular army. Give us an enlistment act which makes the reserve possible instead of one which discourages.
>
> *Senator Beckham.* You would have a reserve system in the regular army and also in the continental army?
>
> *General Wood.* I would say that the first thing we want is a proper enlistment act, which your bill carries. It is a good one. Give us all the increase in the regular army you can give us, especially in field artillery and infantry, and replace the coast artillery required for foreign service with enough to man the mine fields and one-half the guns at home. Give us authority and money to develop our reserve officer corps to 45,000 officers—that is vital—and a good reserve of material. Heavy mobile artillery is of especial importance; aircraft, as well. When you have done those things, which do not require anything in the way of constitutional amendments, we shall have trebled our present efficiency. Let us go ahead simultaneously with the above and take the militia into the continental army under conditions which place it absolutely and completely under federal control, cutting off money and supplies from that portion of the militia which does not come into the federal service. Give the militia not only a chance to come into the continental army, but urge them to do it. If they do not come, the failure to do so rests with them. We should take all of them we can get, and with this force as a nucleus, proceed to develop as rapidly as possible our federal force. But this force should be in every way absolutely distinct from the state militia.

In other words, the vital improvements which General Wood—our very foremost authority—thinks we need are an increase of the regular army, with regular reservists, reserve of officers, reserve of material, and a general reserve of partly trained citizen soldiers.

Let us now turn to the Hay bill, recently before the committee of the whole in the House of Representatives, and see how it deals with these questions. As regards regular army increase, an addition of ten regiments of infantry and six regiments of field artillery is considered quite insufficient in all informed quarters. As regards the regular reserve, an amendment has already been adopted providing for an honorable discharge within a year, provided the enlisted man can get a recommendation to that effect from his commanding officer. In that case he goes to the reserve for six years. This provides for an excellent enlistment law, and in the opinion of competent authorities will go far to tempt a different—and higher—type of citizen into the army. In this provision there lies the seed of a different attitude toward the obligations of military service, toward the profession of the private soldier in the United States army, provided the seed can be made to grow. As regards the reserve of officers, an amendment has likewise been adopted substituting, as qualification for commissions, for Hay's cadet companies plan, courses in college or school followed by six months with the regulars as temporary second lieutenant. This is an excellent amendment, likely to persuade the very highest type of university graduate to take advantage of its provisions, and to involve in military affairs a class of young citizen not heretofore interested. As regards reserve of material—rifles, uniforms, shells, field artillery, aircraft, heavy mobile guns, etc.—nothing at all has been done, or practically nothing. Except in Germany and Japan, it has been proved over and over again that only a war persuades legislators to provide funds for material which they know is certain to become obsolete some day, prob-

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ably before the material is needed. Of course, the scandalous condition of the air service is likely to be remedied simply because it is so scandalous. To quote a private circular of the Aero Club, begging private funds for a government service:

> To be quite frank, we feel that Congress should do this. We have felt so ever since the present war demonstrated the dire need for substantial air fleets. But when we consider that the army has only six low-powered scouting aeroplanes available to meet such a contingency, when it should have at least two hundred, we realize that if we wait for Congress to do its duty, we may find that Congress will only do it after thousands of American lives have been lost because they were not adequately protected.

Moreover, there are ugly rumors about concerning the types of planes in which army aviators have in the past year met accidental death. The entire aircraft situation certainly demands a separate and formal government inquiry.

Before we turn to the militia provisions in the Hay bill, certain other criticisms must be made. Above all, it is a doubly dangerous bill because its authors are trying to persuade the public, or a receptive part of the public, that it does provide adequate preparation and security. Ten additional regiments of infantry, six of artillery, are nothing in comparison with our needs. And moreover, no federal reserve is even contemplated, for the militia, so long as governors of states retain their prerogatives under the Constitution of the United States, are not and cannot be made a federal reserve.

Moreover, there is an undue and injurious recognition of the staff departments and too little regard for the line. Of these provisions ex-Secretary Stimson mildly remarks, "The House bill also contains some provisions, particularly in Section 8, which will tend to narrow and restrict the wise system of detail in the staff departments and would thus tend to a reversion to the system of permanent departmental staffs which existed before the Spanish War, and which was terminated by the reforms of Secretary Root." As a matter of fact, Section 2 takes away from the regimental commander an essential portion of his command and places it in time of peace under control of the staff officers in violation of every sound principle of organization and command. The effect of Section 8 would be to restore permanency to the staff departments in so far as all the field officers are concerned and to reduce the amount of service with troops required of captains and lieutenants. Staff officers whose duties do not permit of familiarity with needs of line troops become a menace to efficiency. Anything which tends to interfere with the detail system or to restrict its operation is a blow at the efficiency of the army. One of the greatest handicaps under which the army labors to-day is the result of conditions growing out of permanency in the staff corps. In short, it would be interesting to know in whose interest the provisions of Sections 2 and 8 of the House bill were framed. It looks as though some one were simply looking forward to a placid old age on full pay in the Army and Navy Club in Washington.

Turning at last to the provisions of the Hay bill as regards the militia, provisions passed by the House of Representatives and likely to be passed by the Senate, we are confronted by legislation unwise alike in principle and in execution. Those who uphold the plan for a federal-supported militia pretend that such a force would constitute a properly trained national reserve. The militia under the Hay plan would be neither properly trained nor a national reserve. Not a national reserve, because just so long as the governors of states retain their rights under the Constitution, they will, in time of peace at least, remain the commanders-in-chief of the state militia exactly as the President of the United States remains the commander-in-chief of the federal forces. Not properly trained, since 48 armory drills plus 15 days in camp per year under state officers, for three years, is not military training.

I do not intend to attempt to discuss the constitutional questions involved. Henry L. Stimson, who is not only an ex-Secretary of War but also a fair minded lawyer, believes that the constitutionality of the militia provisions of the Hay bill will not be upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. But even supposing the Hay law passed by both Houses and declared constitutional, only by increase in federal expenditures of funds does it offer any promise of greater federal control of the militia. If even a limited portion of our people were made to believe that the national needs had been met and a real reserve established, the enactment of the Hay bill would result in positive harm.

Passing the Hay bill means that the United States government will pay out more money to the militia with only a chance of greater control, and a possibility, at least, of seeing a political organization built up in the various states.

Let us take a concrete example. New York, of course, can probably organize thirty-odd thousand militia from the cities alone. But the state of South Carolina, for instance, must raise 8,000 enlisted men, exclusive of officers, drill them 48 times a year and mobilize them in camps 15 days a year; for the law specifies that each state must raise a quota of 800 men for each senator and representative. The proud little state of South Carolina is over-represented in Congress by eight members in the lower house and two Senators; she is not likely

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to drill the colored population on which that representation is based. South Carolina, unprogressive even for the South, will be faced practically with universal service in the militia, 48 drills a year, 15 days in camp; for 8,000 young white men can not possibly be raised there without conscription. The population is largely rural and scattered; communications are poor. What will the governor do? He can, simply by omitting to appoint a recruiting officer, withdraw his state from the provisions of the law. South Carolina is merely an example; there will be similar difficulties not only throughout the solid South but also in other rural communities. For the execution of the law, in the last analysis, lies in the hands not of the President of the United States but of the governor of each separate state. If the governor does not choose to execute the law, no federal power can force him to do it. He will get no more money from Washington, but he will withdraw his state from the militia system. Can any one doubt what Cole Blease would have done?

No, the best hope for military reform in the United States lies not in the establishment of a reserve of "citizenry," at least not now. It lies in the increase of the regular army and of the regular army reserve maintained by a short enlistment law. It lies in a reserve of officers capable of commanding United States volunteers. It lies in a decent reserve of military material.

For it would be better to do nothing than to initiate such a system of divided control as the Hay militia plan involves. The militia would not be trained. The public, lulled into reassurance, might suppose them trained. In conclusion, let me quote General Wood once more:

> *Senator Chamberlain.* But an untrained army could not have resisted Germany, probably?
>
> *General Wood.* They would never have known what hit them.

GERALD MORGAN.

The Lost Theme

A MAN was taken the other day to a soirée of artists and serious thinkers. He had never been to such a gathering before, and he was totally ignorant of the rules. Fool that he was, he thought it expected of him to show that he too liked art, and it pleased him to think he had been to a recent exhibition. He plunged in and began to describe a picture. It was of a high cliff running down to the sea, and on the little strip of beach lay the body of a young girl. The sun was rising in the background. Those who heard him were horrified, and the friend who had introduced him perspired visibly. "She had such a wonderful expression on her face—you must have noticed it?" he concluded. "Never looked at it. . . . I'm not interested in brewery advertisements," replied one of the party, and left the man feeling as guilty as if he had murdered his aunt.

But he was a dauntless person, and after much careful lecturing from his friend he began to attain artistic respectability. He has worked out a rule of conduct for himself. If the picture looks interesting, he hurries past knowing that it contains a story or a moral, and such things are no longer for him. Among the subjects he has learned to avoid are pretty girls, dancers, Eve and Venus, affectionate dogs, moonlight on snow, mermaids, and motherly old women by the fireside. He has learned to pause in front of torsos, fragments of arms, and sketches consisting of not more than a dozen lines. He has been seen to stand immovable for ten minutes before the portrait of an apple, to imitate the curve of the shadow with a tense motion of his thumb, and walk away scowling at the wretchedness of the lighting arrangements. His conversational apparatus has grown prodigiously. By taking a beam or two from Bergson, a wheel from Freud, some gearing from William James and the discards of alchemists, Hegelians and mental healers, he has provided himself with a vehicle of explanation. This enables him to avoid the vulgar habit of liking too many things, and he rarely makes a break at a soirée. The high quality of his artistic insight is established by the fact that he is able to grow eloquent over a spot in the upper left hand corner of the most obscure picture in the gallery, while he treats the rest of the exhibition for the low-lived, ill-bred thing it is.

It is not the business of outsiders to criticize him. For he and his circle of artist friends are a close community, and only those who can speak their language are admitted. Philistines say it isn't a language at all, but merely an elaborate and noisy form of the inarticulate. It has even been said that there are circles within the circles using deeper and deeper symbols of the incommunicable, and that in the last analysis the best work done by men in this group is incomprehensible to the men themselves. There is a rumor that one of them remarked: "When I have evolved artistically, I shall like that painting of mine—some day it will reveal infinity to me. I shall grow to be worthy of it."

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In the meantime the less gifted people have meted out a curious fate to him and his kind. They know nothing of the infinities revealed; after two or three efforts to understand his manifestoes they betray no particular desire to know. But often enough they like the patterns, and are busily engaged in using them for sofa cushions, neckties, wall paper, and ladies' evening dresses. At any hour of the day or night it is now possible to see men and women dressed in the scattered remnants of a mysterious metaphysics. Musical comedy costumes are deeply affected by them, magazine covers flaunt them, advertising is full of them, they are to be seen on candy-boxes and doilies and whimsical shoes.

Nor are the outsiders ungrateful. They are much obliged for the improvement in neckties, believing that if it requires a mystery and a cult and a jumble of philosophy to produce it, the price is not too high. But there is a persistent question in their minds which they hardly dare to utter aloud. Standing in front of one of the new products, they have tried their level best to purge themselves through pity and fear, or find a hint of open country beyond. But almost in vain. "Is this all?" they ask, for they had been led to believe that art was something more than the decoration of life. "These things," they say, "are often good carpets and good trimmings, but men pray on a rug, not to it; we have been given better clothes, but we are naked."

According to this theory of the outsiders, art is made to increase life, by which they mean that it cuts paths for the impulses which are not consumed in ordinary living. It enables men to be heroes and lovers and prophets and villains in a world where there are no practical costs, a world which is literally immortal because death and defeat are vicarious. In that realm they can spend the evening in Purgatory or know the Liebestod before bedtime, abduct Helen and play ball with Nausicaa, do a thousand things they were made to do, and still remain law-abiding citizens. They can compress time and space, and obliterate distance, be omnipotent and free and gorgeously sad. They can live a thousand lives, lift the roofs off houses, open sealed caskets, and see the other side of the moon. Individual man is limited by circumstances, squeezed outrageously in the world of custom, law, responsibility, thwarted by weakness and poverty and the shortness of time. But his soul is profuse, errant, and multiple, not to be contained or employed in a career. It is made of contradictions, some of which must go under in the pressure of events. It cannot satisfy itself in the restricted area of permissible emotions. It longs for things that would kill it, and is everlastingly adjusted to compromise and prudence.

This overflow is the itching plague of mankind, haunting it with crimes and heroisms that it is unable to achieve, the corridor of its mind a ghost-walk of lives that it might have lived. Miser and murderer and libertine, grandee and lover and hero tumble after each other in this pageant of lost causes forever conspiring against the peace of that exterior which men show to the world. Art is the liberator of these submerged selves because it enables them to walk in daylight, to be incarnated and to find expression, without wrecking the continuity of organized life.

But art cannot do its work if it remains incommunicable. Man cannot live vicarious lives in a medium which he does not understand. Above all, he cannot find utterance in decoration or "externality" alone. That is why he will not accept the heresy which tells him that the subject of art does not matter, that the picture of a daffodil is as significant as the picture of a soul. He believes persistently that design and pattern are not the end of art, that the artist must respond to those moral conflicts which constitute the living theme of great works. He need not quarrel with those who are unable to be more than craftsmen engaged in making the costumes, utensils and furniture of life. His quarrel is with their pretension that they have usurped the avenues of human expression.

In some such way as that the outsider might reply to those who claim to speak for modern art. In the effort to establish his argument he could do more than point to those creations which have meant most to the inner life of mankind, or ask the obvious question whether there is no qualitative difference between a Greek tragedy and a Greek vase. He would be inclined to turn on the *illuminati* and ask them whether they have found what they need, whether in the test of experience they have attained answers to craving and struggle, either rest or new life when they wanted it most? And whether there is not already a creeping disillusionment with trifles and abstractions and incidentals heaped up to leave them unfulfilled? And whether the immense pretentiousness and trumpetings of the millennium and the scrapheap of explanations and titanism are not the signs of men whistling to keep up their courage, shouting to conceal their doubts?

The layman may even hint at a possible explanation. The avoidance of significant themes, the emphasis on treatment and decoration are perhaps due to the fact that we are living now in a society of a scale never known before, in an environment enlarged and complicated beyond anything mankind has ever experienced. We have not learned to adjust human passion to this new situation, to value human motive in the terrifying intricacy of

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modern life. Moral science, as Socrates understood it, is in perplexity and confusion, and if ever any order is attained it will be by long study and invention. Only then might the material of human conflict be sufficiently understood to furnish art with its greater themes. For painters, poets, novelists are happiest when they live in a moral tradition. The lack of it to-day has robbed them of themes on which to work.

So they have turned away from the theme and concentrated on the externals of their craft, on technique, or form, or pattern, or color, or on the less important objects of the natural world. Having turned away, they try to justify their result by endless theorizing aimed to show that what they are getting is all that an artist should seek. They despise the theme because to-day the theme is infinitely difficult to grasp. They have transformed an evasion, a necessary and perhaps an inevitable evasion, into a virtue. They are trying to make their central failure a criterion of success.

WALTER LIPPMANN.

The Self-Conscious School

IN the educational excitement of to-day we scarcely realize how far the modern school is passing out of that era when the program for work and study was carefully constructed with a view to the child's "preparation for life." Educators saw the world as divided into two radically different classes, adults and school-children. The adults were functioning in a definite sphere, using a certain self-contained and common body of knowledge to do their work and make their way in the world. The children, on the other hand, were waiting like the little unborn souls in "The Blue Bird," to take their places in that active world. If their parents were using knowledge as a current intellectual coin with which experience could be bought and social exchange effected, the child who had any chance of succeeding as an adult would have to be put in possession of as much of this current coin as he could hold, quite regardless of his own enthusiasm for it or his own consciousness of what it was all about.

The free public school, therefore, became the place where children took into themselves such automatically usable knowledge as would be important for them in the remote future of their active adulthood. Since book-knowledge had acquired honorific distinction as the badge of a leisure class—and did not every democratic parent wish his child to "rise in the world?"—and since it was of all knowledge the most easily negotiable in the form of simple processes and facts, this type of knowledge became the stock of the school. Then at some time a not unintelligent attempt was supposedly made to compare this current stock of intellectual paper money with the specie circulating outside in the community at large, to see whether the school reserve was accurate and sufficient. This attention lapsed, however, and the curriculum became a closed system, handed down to the uncritical and unconscious child with the authority of prestige and the sanctions of school discipline.

In this unconscious school knowledge was presented to us not as acquaintance with things but with "subjects." Text-books were given us holding the golden lore, and education became the slow nibbling away at their facts for six to twelve years. We came to think of ourselves as cupboards in which were laboriously stored bundles of knowledge. We knew dimly the shape of the articles and the distinction of the materials within. But we never expected to see the contents until we were grown, when we would joyfully open our packages and use them to the infinite glory of our worldly success and happiness. But it was a slow child who did not begin to suspect, long before his shelves were full, that most of his adult friends had lost no time, when their schooldays were over, in locking their cupboards and leaving their bundles to the dust and worms.

The fine technique of the unconscious school as worked out by educators in normal schools and teachers' colleges in the last forty years can be read in any current school survey. Here the coincidence of work and study with the child's interests is accidental. Indeed, many parents and teachers are still opposed to making too large a part of the curriculum appeal to the child's ephemeral interests. Discipline is still thought of not as willed skill, which it is, but as the ability to do painful things. A world where children do joyfully and well what interests them, instead of what is "good" for them (because unpleasant), still excites the envious mistrust of an older generation.

Yet the transformation from the unconscious school to the self-conscious school is the very kernel of the present educational excitement. The new schools which arouse enthusiasm are those in which the child is learning what has meaning to him as a child. He no longer does things because it is the "teacher's way." That old perverted honor of the teacher never to admit that she is wrong lest the child's confidence be disturbed, and he become conscious and critical of the methods and materials of his education, is breaking down. We are learning that in the unconscious school the prizes go to the docile and unquestioning, not to those of initiative and skill. The school that keeps children in ignorance of what they are doing trains them for an uncritical life in society.

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The discovery is not new that all the skill necessary to live an effective life in America to-day is not contained in a few readers, arithmetics, abridged histories and geographies, an elementary algebra and plane geometry, a Latin, Greek, or German grammar, with cullings from the works of Caesar, Virgil, Xenophon, Cicero and Homer. When educators found that adult life overflowed these narrow limits, they introduced manual training, gymnastics, drawing and music; but the child became no more self-conscious, for these were merely additional "subjects." The radical discovery of to-day is that the adult world is not primarily engaged in turning information into power. The adult rarely has a historical or a geographical or an arithmetical thought unconnected with experience. What he does is to work very concretely at a myriad of occupations, intellectual and mechanical, concerned with making a living, bringing up a family, dealing with people, casting a vote, reading newspapers. He has a great diversity of horizons, and the most effective people are those who react most intelligently to their experience as a whole. Power and information increase together, not one at a time. The effective adult is a self-conscious personality. The only school which can be a genuine preparation for life is a self-conscious school. The child must learn to live in the same kind of world that his elders live in. The school must be the community in which his child-life develops. His play and work must be, first of all, interesting activity.

Fortunately the modern movement to make the school self-conscious has begun at the bottom. The four earlier years of the public school as taught by recently trained teachers are now generally filled, even in conservative city systems, with this new vivid consciousness. Dramatization, the learning of reading and writing and arithmetic through play, group-games and folk-dancing, gardening, constructive woodworking—all this is a sign of the growing self-consciousness of the school. In the more advanced schools, shop and science work, community excursions, illustrative drawing and design, fertilize the life of the older children. The most complete self-consciousness is realized in a school of the Wirt type, where all the varied activities are arranged to contribute to the upkeep or enrichment of the school plant and the school community. For the older children the expanding community becomes an extension of the school, and they learn the operation of the adult world by going out to see the institutions of their community and asking questions about them. In the self-conscious school the child's own curiosity sets the cue, and the school's work is to provide manifold opportunities for the satisfaction of that curiosity.

As this self-consciousness spreads up through the school system, we should get a new type of intelligence. Children will get a sense of means used for ends, and this sense is the most imperative discipline that we need. A revolutionary reorganization of the curriculum will be effected. Already unapplied mathematics and unrelated classics are passing. Yet those years which should most closely approximate in function and appreciation and in intellectual attitude the adult world remain unregenerated. Little seems to have been done to alter the old high school, still regarded principally as the gateway to the largely unconscious college. As a community of adolescent life, meeting sex-interests, new idealisms and new assertions, it is a failure. But as the older pedagogy fades out, and the younger children trained in the self-conscious school advance, we may expect a new orientation for the older years. Meanwhile our most valuable criterion for any school, public or private, city or rural, is, "How far towards self-consciousness, as expressed in the individual child and in the school community as a whole, has the school progressed?"

RANDOLPH BOURNE.

War of the Future

IN the plans contemplated by the United States for preparedness to meet an enemy, not only must all the amazing lessons of the present conflict be carefully and imaginatively considered, but a long and almost prophetic look into the future should be made before any definite policy is decided on.

In the first place, all ideas for the formation of large bodies of mounted men may be put aside. Cavalry is needed only—and then not vitally—by aggressors. Nor will it be necessary to train a large army in all the many duties that it will be called upon to perform in a war of aggression. The protection plan renders the greater number of those duties useless. A large army will, of course, be required; but as the men will for the most part be needed only for coast defense, their training must consist principally in the perfect use of long-range and other guns of the latest type, as well as in the far more difficult use of anti-aircraft guns, which, with their sister searchlights, must be mounted on stations thickly all round the coasts and in wide circles round the cities. Further trained men will be required to establish a large mobile corps, which—with mounted anti-aircraft guns on motor-trolleys—can be sent off at a moment's notice to follow the movements of enemy aircraft which have escaped the first line of defense. Lastly, the formation of a large and competent flying corps is one of urgent and immediate impor-

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tance, because any future war will be largely above the earth.

The first step toward the protective type of efficient preparedness is to lay down guns of all the latest types: long-range guns, machine guns, and, above all, anti-aircraft guns of long range and accuracy. As these are completed they should be mounted first at the most vulnerable spots on the coast. And it is important that they should be carefully protected from aircraft bombs and the guns of enemy ships. Stacks of necessary ammunition should be stored in underground magazines near by. At the proper intervals along the coast there should be constructed as soon as possible depots of carefully built huts for the accommodation of officers and men, each depot with proper sanitation and a recreation hut, and all provided with picked military and naval instructors in gunnery. These depots should each be connected by telephone and all should be placed in communication by special lines with the general staff headquarters. There should also be, of course, wireless stations to pick up messages from the sea.

The war of the future, a future that is not very far beyond the horizon, will be different even from the one that we are all watching to-day. In the scheme of preparedness for the protection of such a country as this, with its tremendous coast lines, the lessons provided for us daily are still by no means the lessons by which we must profit.

There are already many features of this war which a few years ago would, if prophesied, have seemed fantastic and incredible. Take, as only one instance, the recent duel between a craft of the air and a craft of the depths, a British aeroplane and a German submarine. This incident, already almost forgotten, would, if suggested even a year ago, have raised the laughter of the initiated and have been called romance by almost everyone. Bear in mind that the romance of fact has brought into actual conflict the two new forces which between them are, without any argument, going to govern the warfare of the future.

Hitherto the function of aircraft in its relation to submarines has been mainly observational. The working of the aeroplane and of the dirigible in this connection has been primarily to watch and to signal. The ripples and the bubbles created by the displacement of water as the ship of the deep went on its otherwise invisible way have been observed by eyes looking down from the heights of the air; and it may be that sometimes the actual body of the submarine has been discerned even at a depth of several fathoms in clear water, and the intelligence thus gained has been usefully flashed to destroyers and other craft employed against submarines.

These incidents may seem small in the mighty current of war. Yet, according to expert observers, and especially according to Mr. H. F. Wyatt, whose writings on this matter are of the greatest value, they have opened up illimitable possibilities.

One must ignore the marvels of invention and the swift progress of applied physics to deny the significance of these two new factors. Before the war but one aeroplane was known to have been shaped for a possible Atlantic flight. A great number of machines—each one as big as the Curtiss aeroplane referred to—are now being built for the British government, and every one of these, according to report, is capable of a range far exceeding previous experience. Not dreamers but practical men hold that in the near future we shall see the ocean-flyer capable of covering land and sea at a speed of at least one hundred and fifty miles an hour. No wild assumption is involved therefore in the supposition that within a few years aeroplanes, passenger and traffic, crossing the Atlantic may be already established.

In all plans for coast defense this point needs consideration. It is further certain that the expansion even of such a feat will be continuous and the radius of action will constantly be enlarged as the speed and fuel endurance are steadily increased. Moreover, the internal-combustion engine which alone has made modern aviation possible is no more the last word in motive power than was steam, and before steam, the horse. The heavier-than-air machine is probably destined a few years hence to fly thousands of miles where it now flies hundreds, and to carry tons where it now carries hundredweights, and this point must be borne in mind in all plans for coast defense. It will also be perceived that the ability to give accurate direction to the missiles which are flung from the air will undergo corresponding development.

All this carries one into still another vital consideration. What will be the position in future of the ordinary surface-going ship, and what the disadvantages of the navy that refuses to adapt itself? The ship of commerce will indeed be far more at the mercy of the power commanding the air than the power commanding the sea. The danger of any trading and passenger vessels, transports, and even warships in the day to which I am looking forward will be as much greater than it is at present as the speed and the vision of the future cruiser of the air will surpass those of the existing surface vessels. In ten years the center of military gravity will be one-half shifted from the surface of the sea to the air—that is to say, vessels of both denominations will be of about equal value. The heavier missiles will still be projected from the ship of the sea, but the wider and greater mobility will

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undoubtedly belong to the ship of the air. Is it not likely that a generation hence, or even before, the surface craft will be eclipsed altogether in mobility?

In speed, as Mr. Wyatt points out, the one will stand to the other in about the relation of the mail coach to the express train. The deduction is that the navies of the world some years from now will have been translated largely to the air, or, more accurately, that the two fighting services will be united into one great service of the air. There is one significant exception, the submarine. That alone of the ships of the sea will by that time find immunity from attack from above. Perhaps the ship of commerce rather than the ship of war will in the not very distant future become a traverser of the sea's depths. The command of the air will be so far swifter and deadlier than sea control now is that only by capability to voyage beneath the surface could merchant craft of the weaker belligerent continue to ply.

Thus, then, the ultimate picture which this line of thought puts before us is that of the sea's surface deserted in wartime, but of depths below and heights above where the newest inventions of scientists grapple for mastery.

I venture to suggest therefore that the question of resisting attack is the first one to be considered in regard to preparedness, and that before committing itself to old-fashioned and present-day methods this country will do well to take into its councils the highest scientific brains at its command, and then make its plans—having put a form of national service into its constitution—with imagination really awake to new dangers and a total disregard for the hitherto conventional methods of conducting war.

Once the coasts are defended a great army can be prepared, if it becomes necessary, for aggression. But while the matter of protection only is under discussion I beg the American government to look into the air, for it is from that direction eventually that the danger will come. Not in cavalry and not in infantry will the salvation of the United States lie, but in gunners and in flying men.

COSMO HAMILTON.

VERSE

Even-Song

Swiftly, O swiftly descend
With thy silvery music of pinions,
Spirit of Even, and blend
In the cup of thy azure dominions
Wine of the red sun's dying
With milk of the new moon lying
Pale in the arms of the old.
O pluck from the Night's dark river
Foam-stars, silver and gold,
And inflame them with darts from thy quiver,
Archeress, goddess and giver,
Gather the day to thy fold.

Thou who dost mingle the light
Of the moon with the gleams of the glowing
Stars in the palace of night,
When the rubied west at thy going
Droops like a withering flower
A lover hath stript from its bower—
Sweet as the music and mirth
Of the waves of the sea at their meeting,
Rings over heaven and earth
The delight and the joy of thy greeting;
Maiden, sustainer and sweeting,
Bring thou the night unto birth.

Low as the prattle of leaves,
Or the rushing of rain on the rafter
Under the darkening eaves
Of the heavens, the lilt of thy laughter
Sounds on the wind as thou goest;
Caresses alone thou knowest
(Only thy fingers and thou)
To bestow, I feel as a tender
Garland of gold on my brow,
And a vestment of beauty and splendour;
Guardian, fairest befriender,
Swiftly descend to me now.

Haste to the watcher that waits
For the wind of thy wings in their beating;
Open the eastern gates
To the waters of night in thy fleeting,
Sealing with balm of thy fingers
The eye of the sun as he lingers;
Slip from thy star-woven dress,
And thy loveliness, Spirit, uncover;
Loose each dusk-hued tress,
And above me on wind-wings hover,
Mistress and lady and lover,
Granting thy gentlest caress.

MALCOLM TAYLOR.

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Mahler's Eighth Symphony

AMONG the most noteworthy musical events of the season are the performances of Gustav Mahler's gigantic Eighth Symphony, under the auspices of the Socity of the Friends of Music, by the Philadelphia Orchestra, augmented to one hundred and ten players, choruses aggregating nine hundred and fifty voices, and soloists, under the direction of Mr. Leopold Stokowski. The work, involving enormous difficulties which the orchestra deserves the greatest credit for surmounting, was successfully performed several times early in March in Philadelphia, and will be repeated at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York on Sunday evening, April 9th. The soloists are the Misses Florence Hinkle, Inez Barbour, Adelaide Fischer, Margaret Keyes, and Suzanna Dercum, and Messrs. Lambert Murphy, Reinald Werrenrath, and Clarence Whitehill.

Gustav Mahler, who was born July 7th, 1860, at Kalischt, in Bohemia, and died at Vienna May 18th, 1911, was well known through his conductorship of the Philharmonic Orchestra of New York. He was also for many years conductor of the Vienna Court Opera. The Eighth Symphony, usually considered his greatest work, was begun in the summer of 1906 and first performed, under his own direction, in Munich, September 12th, 1909. The choral forces to be used in the present performance consist of the Philadelphia Orchestra Chorus of four hundred, a second chorus of four hundred made up of the Philadelphia Choral Society, the Mendelssohn Club and the Fortnightly Club, and a children's chorus of one hundred and fifty. The orchestra is planned on the most lavish modern scale, containing, for instance, eight horns, four trumpets, four trombones and bass tuba in the brass section, besides four trumpets and three trombones separately placed. The score calls for kettle-drums, bass drum, cymbals, tamtam, triangle, deep-toned bells, glockenspiel, celesta, piano, harmonium, organ, two harps, and mandolin, in addition to a full complement of stringed and woodwind instruments.

The structural scheme of the work is as ambitious and as imposing as its demands for number and variety of performers. It consists of two parts, the first based upon the mediaeval hymn "Veni, creator spiritus"—attributed by some to Hrabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Rheims, and by others to Charlemagne—and the second on the closing scene of the second part of Goethe's Faust, beginning with the Chorus of Anchorites. The idea of associating two texts drawn from such different sources is in itself a daring one, but both by the transfer of definite themes from one part to the other and more subtly by the general character of the musical expression of religious feeling throughout, Mahler has succeeded in unifying them. The German annotator, Dr. Richard Specht, detects the four movements of the classical symphony lurking beneath the surface—the traditional allegro in the first part, and a slow movement (Chorus of Anchorites, etc.), scherzo (Rose Chorus), and finale ("Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichniss") combined in Part II. It may be questioned if this is not rather straining a musical terminology to fit a dramatic creation. What is clear is that the work, for all its vastness and complexity, has a thematic unity; structurally it reveals the grasp of a master mind; whatever deficiencies it may have, they are not those of intelligence or technical skill.

The texture and method are those characteristic of modern German neo-classic music: the presentation of a multitude of brief motives of vigorous rhythmic individuality, and their alternation and combination in a web of greatest complexity, often by such devices as augmentation, inversion, and the like. The effect of such a method often depends more on the piling-up of sonorities and the domination of the listener by energy and plenitude of utterance than on the musical originality of the themes themselves. Thus the main theme of this symphony, sung at the start by the two choirs to the words "Veni, creator spiritus," is musically significant less by its own contour than by the way in which it evolves as the work progresses, and notably by its triumphant return in the full orchestra in the peroration of the second part. Of far greater intrinsic musical interest is the mysterious chanting, by altos and tenors, of the "Infirma nostri corporis," introduced by an orchestral prelude in which high strings and woodwind sound strangely dissonant harmonies while a deep bell tolls insistently. The orchestral tissue here is eerie and of indescribably peculiar coloring, woven with a skillful hand. These same harmonies afterwards recur with the bass solo on the same words. (It may be noted as an instance of the suggestive thematic relations frequently binding the two parts together that this music recurs in the Chorus of the More Perfect Angels, "Earth's residue to bear hath sorely pressed us.") Other features of special interest are the orchestral ritornelle, over a soft "pedal point" in which the main theme receives its first extended development, the immensely emphatic proclamation, by all the voices in unison, of another main motive, "Accende lumen sensibus," which Dr. Specht calls the high point of the whole movement, and the double fugue on the "Praevio" cry of the choruses and the main theme combined.

By another of those thematic transformations of which Mahler makes scholarly use, Part II opens with an insistent motive, plucked by the 'cellos and basses below a shimmer of tremolo violins, which is drawn from the earlier "Accende lumen sensibus." It is developed at some length in an orchestral picture of Goethe's lines:

> "Forests are waving here,
> Rocks their huge fronts uprear,
> Roots round each other coil,
> Stems thickly crowd the soil."

This part is even more diverse in its constituent elements than the first. There is a paean to love by the Pater Ecstaticus, anticipating the later choral theme of the "Alles Vergängliche." There is a turbulent rushing song for the Pater Profundus. Perhaps the most ingratiating page of all is the swingingly rhythmed "Rose Chorus"—"Roses, from fair hands descending, holy, penitent, and pure," where Mahler gives free reign to his love of fluent and naïve melody in the mood of the folk-song. The hymn-like Chorus of the Younger Angels,

> "Mist-like, with movement rife
> Rock-summits veiling,
> Near us a spirit-life
> Upwards is sailing,"

with its simple yet arresting harmonies of oboes and flutes, is also of striking musical individuality. Doctor Marianus, Magna Peccatrix, Mater Gloriosa, Mulier Samaritana, Maria Aegyptiaca, all have solos. "A Penitent" (Gretchen) sings her "Neige, neige" to an accompaniment in which a mandolin takes part. One of her melodies later recalls the soprano solo, "Imple superna gratia" near the beginning of Part I. The famous "Alles Vergängliche" which closes Goethe's poem:

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"All things transitory are but symbols.
. . . The eternal feminine leads us on."

is set as a solemn hymn, with mystically elusive harmonies, first breathed out softly with a quiet string accompaniment, later proclaimed by all the voices and the majestic full organ. The final strain is a grandiloquent peroration drawn from the main theme of Part I.

Altogether it is a composition conceived and executed with noble intention and abounding musical skill. Mr. Stokowski and the army of singers and players under his direction will be received doubtless with well deserved gratitude for their efforts to give adequate interpretation to one of the most exacting of modern musical works, one which is looked upon in Europe as representing the ultimate step to which latter-day choral art has been carried.

DANIEL GREGORY MASON.

The Tragedy of Gustav Mahler

NOTHING, perhaps, bears better testimony to the hold the music of Beethoven had on men's imaginations than the fact that, up to a few years ago, the highest praise that could be bestowed upon a symphony lay in hailing it as a new "Tenth." The adherents of every new composer found no clearer way of expressing reverence for their liege than in proclaiming him heir to the master of Bonn. But it was not only the public that held Beethoven in such esteem. Brahms, Franck, and Bruckner were assiduous in their study of the form of his works. Liszt developed the symphonic poem out of the Beethoven overture, and even Wagner thought he had found justification for his music-drama in the Chorale Symphony—had not Beethoven, in order to express his vast emotion, been forced to call upon the aid of poetry and human voices, proving in this fashion music incapable of expressing unaided the loftiest sentiments? But upon none was the epithet "Beethoven's heir" laid with so much justice as on the composer whose Chorale Symphony New York is about to hear, Gustav Mahler. What when applied to Brahms, Bruckner and Franck connoted only recognition of original and re-creative work in the medium of the symphony, in the case of Mahler bore witness to an actual desire to imitate Beethoven's work, to an inspiration drawn more out of the art of the elder composer than out of life itself, and to a fundamental spiritual likeness between the two. More than anything else, it was this last trait that condemned Mahler to be, not a composer of original stature, but merely heir to another.

Beethoven and Mahler are examples of the type of artist to whom his craft represents not so much an aesthetic expression born of a joy in creation as a means of answering some intellectually conceived philosophic or religious problem, of creating for himself a happiness that through some inward maladjustment he wants. The intention of the music of these composers is not music, it is literature, morality, faith. The cause lies perhaps in an inability to find satisfaction in the living of life that drives them to seek their contact with reality through art. Their impulse is not the creation of beauty, but the search for happiness. Because they are without it, they are eternally striving for something that will give it them, and their work is only the record of their struggle to attain the poise and harmony that is not within them. The inherent tragedy of the struggle is that their music, because they are striving to attain an effect with it, remains literary intention, and not perfect work.

It was Beethoven's fortune that he brought to his efforts a genius almost able to accomplish the impossible task he laid on it, a task no different from that of the man who tries to find happiness by telling himself and his friends that he possesses it. The great peasant strength of Beethoven stood him in good stead. One almost forgets while listening to the Fifth Symphony that Beethoven is not writing music so much as he is attempting to depict the struggle of humanity with fate, to make life livable to himself by convincing himself of the ultimate triumph of man. The finale of the Chorale Symphony is literature, humanitarianism, but not musical art, for though the chorus on high C screams out Schiller's "Ode to Joy" while the orchestra blares and crashes, it remains intention because the composer was trying to force his music to express something that was not in it. Like Michelangelo, Beethoven was always at his best when he was not attempting to force his medium to the expression of certain intellectually conceived truths. What success was his, when he was content to make music, the "Pastoral" Symphony and certain of the quartets show. What is accomplishment in his work can be ascribed to just such work done within the limitations of his genius. Mahler accomplished even less, because, obsessed with similar desires, he tried to force a talent far smaller to the achievement of effects equal to his predecessor's.

One can only speculate about what Mahler could have accomplished with his talent had he been free of the desire to be grandiose. Throughout his work there runs a certain folk-spirit, savoring of the Bohemian countryside where he was born, that is his original contribution to art. Perhaps it might have been developed into forms of real beauty. Unfortunately, it was not beauty that Mahler sought in music; it was faith, religion to console his inward nihilism, and so the Bohemian folk-tunes were abused in the making of ponderous symphonies that were to express vast griefs and vaster struggles to proclaim the final triumph of all effort, and the sureness of the life beyond the grave. Mahler took to making symphonies by sheer force, for he was not only an unhappy man seeking to find in music the happiness he wanted, but also a German of modern Germany, with a beautiful faith in violence. As the Erl-King in Goethe's ballad cried to the child, he cried to his recalcitrant talent—

"Und bist du nicht willig, so brauch ich Gewalt!"

If there are still people who do not believe that music expresses the age in which it was written, a hearing of the Eighth Symphony will dispel all doubt. Every one of Mahler's scores proclaims his faith in the ability of physical force to gain spiritual ends. For him greatness was a matter of quantity. With the exception of the composition of a score of songs and two symphonic chorale works, all his efforts were devoted to the creation of bulky symphonies. Here success was to be obtained by sheer numbers. Hence the vast stretches of the Mahler symphony, the interminable repetitions, the steady reliance on the brass choir and the instruments of percussion, on superadded choruses. The efficiency of his symphonies is stupendous, his erudition "kolosall," his counterpoint all melody.

The Eighth Symphony is the apotheosis of this reliance on physical force. One hundred and fifty instruments, vast choruses, male, female, and infantile, numerous soloists are called for. Beethoven used only an ode to help himself out. Mahler presses the "Veni creator" and

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the final scene of Goethe's "Faust" into service, and what though the Carolingian Christian and the modern pantheist piteously protest the infringement of their rights? He treats them as if they were Belgium, and overwhelms them in the vast flood of sound. And for a while, the symphony, with its thousand performers, stuns the auditor by sheer physical mass. Soon, nevertheless, comes the realization that there is in the work neither the all-creating spirit that the composer invokes, nor the Heaven that he strives to realize. They are in the music of Palestrina, of Bach, of Franck, because they were in the hearts of those composers. It was the tragedy of Mahler's career that all his life he should have struggled to capture them, and should never have seen that they could not be taken by force. His music bears testimony to his pitiful desire to find their beauty, which his restless, unhappy, arid personality wanted.

PAUL L. ROSENFELD.

A COMMUNICATION

The Real Implications of Conscription

IN his article, "The Free Man and the Soldier," Professor Perry has managed to avoid any very definite treatment of the quite specific questions which must occur to anyone who seriously considers the relation of conscription to democracy, and the ultimate object which conscription is designed to accomplish.

Among those very definite questions are these: How far is the control of political opinion by the state necessary to the efficient working of conscription? How far does submission to state control in matters of political opinion render a people unable to form sound political judgments, and so unfit them for democracy? And how far does state control of opinion unfit them, particularly, to solve the problems of international relationships?

Let us take the last question first. It is admitted by all parties to the discussion, and is most particularly emphasized by those impressed with the need for greater armament, that the outstanding problems of the international situation—immunity from the danger that each nation runs from the power of the others, the permanent maintenance of peace with due regard to right which it is the ultimate object of conscription to help secure—will demand for their final solution a capacity larger than men have heretofore shown for other-mindedness, for seeing the point of view of the other fellow, for a sane judgment of the facts between them, for a more rational control of certain primitive impulses and passions in one particular sphere: in short, a certain moral and intellectual evolution therein. Without that we shall obviously get no final solution. And yet, it would seem that conscription, to be thoroughgoing and effective in its mechanism, must and does deliberately oppose that particular moral and intellectual evolution, is obliged to try to prevent the only process which would make it possible. To get security from the kind of catastrophe now shaking Europe a certain political reformation is necessary. The firm establishment of conscription throughout the world threatens to create an immense, perhaps an insuperable obstacle, at least to that particular reformation. With this specific difficulty Professor Perry has not dealt, except to imply, in a most general way, that it is non-existent.

Let us just see how the thing works in the concrete fashion of Carlyle's two Dumdrudges. The young man of France, or Austria, or Prussia, or Bavaria, having been in no way consulted as to his opinion concerning the matter, and with no option of refusal, finds himself one day confronted with the order to enter the trenches and kill the man opposite. Now suppose, being a Prussian, he should say: "I don't feel justified in killing the man opposite. I have followed this particular dispute between his government and mine, and upon my conscience I am not at all sure that he is wrong. I think there is a good deal to be said for his case. Particularly am I a little doubtful of my case when it is marked by the daily slaughter of children on land and sea. I cannot see that I do the best service to my country in killing the man opposite. He may not be altogether right, but I am at least sure that he is not so wrong as to justify me in putting him to death or torture."

Now, if what the Allies and their supporters have so often told us is at all true, western Europe has taken up arms on behalf of that young heretic—to bring about, that is, just the moral revolution on the part of his people represented in his attitude. Mr. Asquith has told us that the war is a spiritual conflict fought to defeat "a monstrous code of international morality" into which the German people have been entrapped "to the horror of mankind." The war was undertaken to liberate them and Europe from the menace of certain political doctrines and moralities (such as that whatever the state does is right, and that obligations to it overrule all others, and that the citizen must be, as certain members of the German government have been so proud of being, "for their country, right or wrong") and to replace those dangerous doctrines by—again to quote Mr. Asquith—"the enthronement of the idea of right as the governing idea" in international politics.

But if a nation is to know what *is* right in its relations with others it must in that matter allow freedom of conscience and discussion, particularly freedom to state the view of the other side. It is not an easy thing for even a third party to determine the rights and wrongs of a quarrel. As for the interested parties, it is humanly certain that each will be convinced he is absolutely right and the other absolutely wrong unless there is a deliberately cultivated capacity to "hear the other side." And as governments are made up of human beings, they too are just as likely to be incapable of fair and reasonable judgment in a case in which they are interested parties, unless drawn from a population that has cultivated the capacity for such judgment in the only way in which it can be cultivated—by the habit of forming individual decisions based on the

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weighing of both sides; unless, in other words, they have learned to "tolerate the heretic" and are dominated by the tradition of the need for heresy in forming opinion.

Now the simple truth is that conscription cannot allow political heresy—opposition to the political religion of the state—in international affairs. And the penalty for it, in all conscriptionist states, is death. It sounds fantastic, but it is a mere statement of fact. Let us get back to the young conscript I have imagined refusing to kill the man opposite. Whether he be German, French, Italian, Russian or Turkish, and whether his situation be that of a submarine commander refusing to sink Atlantic liners or an Allied aviator refusing to throw bombs at Baden health resorts, if he really persists there is only one result for him. He is shot.

But conscription cannot in its authority stop short merely at the man in the trenches or under direct military command. Assume that this disposition on the part of conscripts to question the morality of their orders is due to a civilian movement of opinion, a religious or political agitation, to anti-war newspapers or writers. (At the time of the English war against the Boer Republics, and to a lesser degree when England, in her last continental war, was fighting on behalf of Turkish policy in the Balkans against Russia, you had such a movement of opinion, which if England had had conscription then, would probably have produced just the results indicated.) One of two things in that case must happen: either conscription, the compulsory element, that is, disappears, or its authority is extended to cover the writers and newspapers, to cover opinion as well as acts.

And that indeed is what does happen. Conscription, to be effective, must be a conscription of minds as well as bodies. To allow real cleavage of opinion concerning the justice of a state's cause to grow up by allowing the advocacy of a rival cause would be to break down national solidarity, to affect gravely the efficiency of the military instrument by tainting its morale at the source. Moreover, the state must take charge not only of the expression of opinion, but of the dissemination of facts which lead to the formation of opinion. And if the incident of the trenches I have described is not commoner than it is (though it is commoner than we suppose it to be) it is largely because states which, like Germany, know their military business have carried out the intellectual conscription, the "mobilization of the mental and moral forces of the nation," so thoroughly before the beginning of the war that the mind as well as the body of the conscript has been suitably drilled. The control of the press and of education, of the careers of all who teach or have influence, has been as much part of the organization of the nation for military purposes as the physical drill and regimentation. And if we wonder how it is that not only sixty or seventy millions of people in the mass, but great scientists, teachers and theologians as individuals, can subscribe to doctrines and support conduct which appear to the outside world as monstrous, it is merely because we have forgotten that any case, however monstrous, can be made to appear reasonable and acceptable if we never hear anything that can be said against it.

If we think that a people like the French could not possibly, when a like efficiency of organization has had time to do its work, show a like moral result, then we have probably forgotten certain incidents of their history, even quite recent incidents like the Dreyfus affair, and what we said about it and all that it meant at the time. But the French, as a matter of fact, have escaped the full flower of the Prussian result because the circumstances of their history during the nineteenth century—the fact that not once during the whole of that century did they have a government sufficiently national to set up a national orthodoxy—made it impossible to organize the system on its intellectual side. Since the revolution there have always been in France, until this war, large groups ready to put certain social and moral principles above national defense, above the state. The revolutionary wars of France were fought with a whole class of Frenchmen opposed to them, many members of that class actually fighting with the enemies of France. It is but a symbol of what has always been in post-revolutionary France that on the news of the fall of Sedan, because it meant the end of the Empire, Paris was illuminated; and that more Frenchmen were killed by Frenchmen in Paris in the struggle of the commune during that war than by Germans. You had here such ingrained habit of political heresy that no machine could readily cope with it. No wonder France has been intellectually free. Sufficient number of Frenchmen have always been ready to make national defense, the efficiency of the military machine, subservient to the retention of certain freedoms, as the Dreyfus case showed. But conscription—the military organization—has steadily fought these freedoms, and the tendency for the needs of the machine to override all other considerations has at times been so strong that, again as in the Dreyfus affair, the control of such tendency demanded for years at a time all the energies which the heirs of the liberal tradition could summon to the task. If, as a result of this war, France is "nationalized" in the sense of making all political differences really subservient to the needs of national power, the increasing efficiency of the military machine will make the next Dreyfus affair in its outcome a Zabern affair.

The question surely is this: If the democracies like England and France are to get the German degree of efficiency in the working of the national military machine, will it not be at the price of a control of opinion by the state, as complete as in Germany? And if so, why should we expect sensibly different moral results?

The present writer is not urging that the difficulties here indicated necessarily condemn resort to conscription in any circumstance whatever, but that we must face squarely what it involves. Only so can we attenuate its dangers. And it involves undoubtedly the suppression of freedom of conscience in certain political affairs. Indeed, the position of the modern political heretic is in one respect a good deal worse than was that of the old religious heretic. The latter, in order to be secure from the attentions of the Holy Office, had only to remain silent. That does not protect the modern heretic. He is taken out and compelled to kill with his own hand those whose political faith perhaps he shares, or himself be executed.

If anyone is disposed to think that this cultivation of rival group orthodoxies, the loss of toleration for heresies

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and of the capacity to discuss them, is a small danger, let him look back on the Europe of religious wars—which was not the Europe of a savage age but of the age of Shakespeare and Montaigne. Lecky, among others, has shown that the rivalry of the modern political groups reveals in large part the psychology which marked the rivalry of the religious groups. Patriotism is the religion of politics. It is worth while considering whether we do not stand in danger of doing in the field of political religion just about what Europe did in the field of ecclesiastical religion when it became divided into two main religious groups.

She entangled herself then in a net of her own weaving—the work largely of religious professors, as our net to-day is woven so largely by political professors. Each group had convinced itself that everything it most valued on earth, the existence of any kind of morality, its spiritual freedom here as well as its eternal salvation later, depended upon its defending itself by military power against the power of the other—defense of course involving preventive wars. There was only one thing which could, and finally did, put an end to the resulting welter: a revision of the prevailing conceptions as to the relation of military force and power over the other group to those moral and spiritual values.

The modification of conception, theory, "sovereign idea," what you will, was only possible as the result of certain heresies, of the conflict of one idea with another, and so the correction of both. But that one solution, the one means of egress, the man of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe for long deliberately closed by making heresy the gravest moral offense which men could commit. Each side killed its heretic: preferably in fashions that were "lingering and humorous." What was more important, of course, they killed with him the capacity of the mass to think clearly—or to think at all on the subjects that the heretic raised, for a community which has no heretics, which is of one mind on a given matter, is on that matter mindless. If the rival communities had been successful in the attempt to protect themselves by military means from heresy within and without, we should have been fighting wars of religion yet, and organizing our massacres of St. Bartholomew. But certain forces—mechanical like the cheapening of printing, moral like the readiness of the heretic to suffer the humorous roasting processes—were too strong for the imperfect organization of the state or the Holy Office. But the modern state—as Germany proves—can be more efficient in the control of opinion and the consequent suppression of heresy. And we can hardly doubt that if unity of political belief is necessary to the successful conversion of a nation into a military instrument, the modern state will kill political heresy even more successfully than the church-state killed religious; and in lesser or greater degree with the analogous result of rendering Europe impotent to solve the very problem out of which conscription itself has arisen.

The upshot of it all is of course that if we are to adopt conscription we must do it with our eyes open. Not bemusing ourselves with the irrelevant consideration that it is in itself desirable, but recognizing its dangers and to that extent having the greater chance of escaping them, resorting to it for a specific and limited purpose, just as we might administer a dangerous drug to an invalid, something necessary it may be for his very life, but something also which may cost him his life if we have to go on increasing the dose.

Does not this analogy apply to all purely military preparedness? Is it not the essential remedy without which our patient will die, but which also will kill him unless sooner or later we can enable him to do without it? And there comes a stage in the illness when the emphasis of our effort must be directed to that end mainly. Possibly the health of our modern world depends upon our understanding that we are approaching just that crisis.

NORMAN ANGELL.

CORRESPONDENCE

Emperors and Experts

SIR: A friend has sent me some recent numbers of THE NEW REPUBLIC. In the issue dated January 15th appears a letter signed "An American," and its wholesome sanity moves me to endorse its every word.

It is not for an Englishman, even one who knows and likes America, and thinks (speaking broadly) he understands American psychology, to express dogmatic views as to what should be the attitude of the republic on the European war. I place firm trust in the fact that you *are* a republic. I am sure as that the sun will rise to-morrow that the overwhelming mass of your people will find the path of honor and justice, and follow it through the mists of policies born of high explosives, as the magnetic needle turns faithfully to the pole.

For a little while, strutting emperors and self-styled "experts" are able to confuse the issues. But not for long. The great tide of humanity flows on, and the Canutes are submerged forevermore. And the "expert," with his diagrams, vanishes too. The emperors achieve real mischief. The experts astound the multitude and amuse the few, on the old, old principle of the charlatan that the simpler the trick the greater the mystification and consequent credulity.

Thus:—

Let A = B
and B = C
Therefore A = C

Or, again: "The position in Mesopotamia is undoubtedly disturbing. If neither the Russians nor the British succeed in taking Bagdad, the Turks will continue to hold it. Hence, sooner or later, Bagdad will be a rallying-point for the Russians, the British, or the Turks. Let us, then, envisage Bagdad from these three vitally conflicting standpoints."

And so on, at 'steen cents per line, or even per word, while the glamor of the expert endures.

This cruel war is the outcome of a hateful system. When the silent, suffering, humbugged races of Europe awake to a sense of realities, this black plague will cease. If each thinking German or Austrian will ask himself this question: "Would there have been war if the Teutonic peoples governed themselves on a republican basis?" I think the answer will be the beginning of the end.

LOUIS TRACY.

Whitby, England.

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After the Play

MISS GRACE GEORGE is finishing her season at the Playhouse by a revival of "Captain Brassbound's Conversion," which Mr. Shaw wrote about seventeen years ago, and which was produced in this country, something like ten years ago, by Miss Ellen Terry. Both in the plays chosen and in the acting Miss George's season has been very interesting. She has revived one American classic, "The New York Idea" by Langdon Mitchell. She has revived one of Henry Arthur Jones's most amusing plays, "The Liars." "Major Barbara" would still be unknown to the American stage if Miss George had not decided to put it on. Bad luck kept me from seeing "The Earth," Mr. Fagan's newspaper and political play, but from what people have told me I imagine it wasn't too much out of place in such good company. I hope Miss George will give us another season as good as this.

When "Captain Brassbound" was published it was still the fashion, even among dramatic critics who were by no means imbecile, to tell Shaw that he must not call his plays plays. Nowadays it is not easy to recover the state of mind which made such an opinion the fashion. Nowadays most of us realize, in the case of a story told on the stage by speeches and gestures and pictures, that we have said almost nothing about it when we have said that it isn't a play. Nowadays it is easy to see the trail of the born playwright all over "Captain Brassbound." A man who had less instinct for the stage, and who wanted to show us an English uncle meeting an unknown nephew by accident on the west coast of Morocco, would have tried hard to make the meeting seem deadly probable. Mr. Shaw wastes no time on this difficulty. He does with ease what is necessary to render the improbability unimportant, and moves on to his real subject.

An interest in differences of dialect is one of Mr. Shaw's few interests in superficial life-imitation, and in "Captain Brassbound" this interest is exploited by a natural, instinctive playwright. Seventeen years ago Mr. Shaw knew how to get the effects he desired out of Felix Drinkwater's dialect and the American Captain Kearney's. Time has changed the author of "Captain Brassbound" into the author of "Pygmalion," but it has not increased his professional dexterity. Seventeen years ago he had all the professional dexterity he needed. We who could not then see the soundness of his dramaturgy must excuse ourselves by acknowledging that we were blinded by the novelty of the things he had to say.

Of course, this novelty is no longer very novel. Two or three of the characteristics one cares for least in Shaw are plain in "Captain Brassbound." His queer pleasure in contemplating and representing fear, for example. Ever since the beginning playwrights have enjoyed showing us the boaster as coward. Mr. Shaw's delight in cowardice is too pure to require of his cowards anything so irrelevant as boastfulness. He drinks their cowardice neat, and is refreshed. On the evening of my visit to the Playhouse many persons in the audience were delighted whenever Felix Drinkwater whimpered and snivelled and was afraid. Their delight in such exhibitions is no doubt as much greater than Mr. Shaw's as his is greater than yours and mine. But why should his be greater than ours? Why does cowardice fascinate him?

Whenever a spectator is aware of a difference between his feeling and the author's feeling, that spectator's enjoyment of a play is suspended or troubled. By remembering this rule I explain my uneasiness whenever Kiddy Redbrook opens his mouth. Redbrook is a quite minor character, one of Brassbound's crew. If one were watching the play without knowing that Shaw wrote it one would have no reason for curiosity about the author's view of Redbrook. Why, while I watched "Captain Brassbound," did I allow Redbrook to occupy my attention too much? Because of a suspicion, confirmed when I got home and looked him up in the stage directions, where he figures as "a pleasantly worthless young English gentleman gone to the bad." In several of Mr. Shaw's plays there are men whom he thinks "pleasantly worthless" and who are slightly irritating little cads.

Nearly every Shaw play may be seen as a conversion. "To be converted, to be regenerated, to receive grace, to experience religion, to gain an assurance," says William James, "are so many phrases which denote the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong, inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right, superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities." Shaw conversions are none of them like this. A self unified and happy, with no firm hold upon reality, perceives that its hold upon reality never has been firm, that reality is very different from what the self had supposed, and becomes in consequence of this perception consciously wrong, inferior, unhappy and divided. Sometimes the self passes through this stage and into a new and higher unity and happiness. Sometimes the self sees this new happiness as a possibility that may be reached by and by. But the converted self is never left in despair.

Until Brassbound met Lady Cicely Waynflete his self was unified by his preoccupation. His life was dedicated to vengeance. He was determined to get even with his uncle, Sir Howard Hallam. Lady Cicely makes him see that if he carries out his resolve there will be nothing to choose between his conduct and his uncle's. If she confined her essays in persuasion to handing him typewritten explanations of his predicament, and if these converted him, we should all think that a very little new light had caused a surprisingly large change of heart. Which is another way of saying that Brassbound's conversion gets its plausibility and its power to interest us from Lady Cicely's personality. If a less persuasive human being employed Lady Cicely's arguments their success would be hard to account for.

Here, it seems to me, we come upon the flaw in the performance at the Playhouse. Miss Grace George is neat and light and agreeable as Lady Cicely, but she does not reveal, does not try to reveal, the rich geniality to which Lady Cicely owes her success in persuading. Miss George expresses very well Lady Cicely's easy confidence that people will agree with her. What Miss George lacks is color and glow. She represents Lady Cicely as a cause too slight to produce such considerable effects. Hence we see rather clearly that in "Captain Brassbound" Shaw overrates human nature's readiness to be converted.

Mr. Robert Warwick's performance as Captain Brassbound does much toward counteracting this impression. Excellent is the art with which he represents Brassbound as a man slow to be converted, as a decidedly refractory subject. To introduce touches of reality into the texture of fantastic incident is to know how to act Shaw, and Mr. Warwick knows how. Mr. Ernest Lawford's Sir Howard Hallam is a real characterization, easy, lifelike, filled with details which help the whole. In an easy part, Felix Drinkwater, nobody could be more satisfying than Mr. Lewis Edgard.

Q. K.

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The Heart of the Country

God's Puppets, by William Allen White. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.25.

BEFORE reading William Allen White one might tax one's imagination. One might try to imagine life in a growing Kansas town.

At first one may think of such a Kansan town as very small, a little human packing-case on the prairie, one of those towns that on Sunday afternoons seems to be a quintessence of bourgeois insipidity. The sunlight blares humorlessly over the flat town. Under complacent cottonwood trees a cement sidewalk goes monotonously straight between grass plots and a dusty road, and as one slopes somnolently along, trying to find distraction in the cracks in the sidewalk, in the imbedded signature of the artist, a gimlet of sound pierces the eardrum from some errant gramaphone. The same scroll saw that was used on the woodwork of those banal homes seems to have been used on the people. A faint feminine cackle floats out on the warm air. Three houses down a maternal admonition is in process. For the most part the inhabitants of the residence section seem to be away in their autos or dozing over the Sunday paper or digestively asleep. To live among them, judging externally, gives one a shiver of apprehension. Better half an hour of ambrosia elsewhere than fifty years of peanuts here. One hurries on to the prairie, to escape the human packing-case, to enjoy the flashing corn-field, the naturalness of the aldermanic guttural of the hogs.

New Raynham, Mr. White's town, came from this nucleus, but it is not nearly so small. It is a state capital. It has a college. It is the home of the Corrugated Metal Manufacturing Company and a Brick and Tile Company. It has, of course, an Astor house, a Boston store, a public library, a prosperous Methodist church. It has as well a Commercial Club, a city federation of women's clubs, a children's home society, a Fair Association, a North End Mission, an anti-saloon league. It has a lively newspaper with a daily bulletin from Washington. It supports limousines as well as Fords. It has a Traders' National Bank. By all these signs it is more exciting than the original village. But it is still flat, it is still bourgeois, it is still Kansan. And one asks the imagination how it is going to make itself at home.

Well, the imagination may be a snob. With the Princess Casamassima or Lord Ormont it may be easily stimulated. It may have difficulties with Tristan Hoppin and Isolde Maguire. It may prefer the isle of Inisfree to the isle of Coney. It may take the moon as silvering a canal in Venice long before it can see it shimmer on the Erie Canal. But however snobbish or shy or virginal the imagination may be, however afflicted or deterred by the crass prose of the small American town, there is a power in Mr. William Allen White that enables it to accept New Raynham, to find magic and miracle in the bourgeoisie there, to ken there "the banks where amaranths blow."

In the degree that ugliness has made one alien in these towns, the art of Mr. White is a full and grateful naturalization. It includes the Corrugated Metal Manufacturing Company in its benign and candid scope. It does not leave out the hard-mouthed business man or the frowsy ex-congressman of the Old Guard who talks of the palladium of liberty and stops to cadge a cigar. It is an art that does not blink facts in the slightest. It accepts all the insipidity and banality which repel the supercilious from outside. But though the facts are here, the preoccupation with business, the cheap politics, the seven per cent dividends, the cigar store that fails, the neighbors who shun the gambler's wife, the Sunday school, the pride and bickering and philandering and perfidy, "an inward celestial power arouseth the bard and ever moveth him toward the 'beyond.'" If it does not seem significant, this life of Kansas, to the eye of the outsider, it is because the outsider is not alive to significances. To the poet in William Allen White it is just as much the domestication of eternity and infinity as the battleground of Verdun or the court of Versailles.

There are five distinct stories in "God's Puppets." Short stories should not be sold under a bare inclusive title. An inclusive title implies a novel, and ordinarily you feel toward the publisher who permits this false assumption as you feel toward the newsboy who sells you a Home Edition the last thing at night. You feel like pulling his ear. But in this particular instance there is a consolation in "God's Puppets" not being a novel. The stories are all laid in New Raynham. They have community. And because of this community it is not a disappointment that there are five different themes.

One of the tales, "A Prosperous Gentleman," seems to me unsuccessful. It sketches the career of a cold New Raynham capitalist, one Charley Herrington, who began life by "wronging a girl." The scandal he lives down, but the point of the story is that "the scalded spot on his soul, instead of healing and growing smaller, began to eat; and its infection began to sink into his life." Had Charley Herrington been a sensitive human being or a human being compelled to live with consequences, this might seem true. But, granting his character, it seems a very remote possibility. The drama of such a character, one fancies, is not that he is tortured by conscience. It is that his imperviousness may in the end penalize him. He is not likely to end his days mumbling in the garden where he broke a young girl's spirit. He is much more likely to end his days having his own spirit broken by some hell-cat of his breed. If the Mrs. Ogler of this tale had exploited the old man in his dotage the end would not have been so Christian, but it would have had a closer resemblance to the ordinary run of human affairs.

"The One a Pharisee" has precisely this close resemblance. Here the chief character is a superb specimen of the hypocrite, president of the Traders' National Bank and head of the Corrugated Metal Manufacturing Company before mentioned. It is Mr. White's temptation to point a moral, but in this story he is artist enough to have selected a theme where the moral points itself. When the crash comes there is an impulse on the part of the lovable Publican to reinstate the Pharisee for the sake of preserving the community against disillusionment, preserving its "faith in the moral government of this world." In one who had himself stolen and cheated and won this impulse is credible. The loss of its illusion, however, was a loss that New Raynham could well be asked to sustain. Except for this touch of sentimentality, as it seems to me, the story is steeped in humanity. It has humor and beauty and wisdom, and it is particularly happy in its sketch of the relations between the Pharisee's daughter and the Publican's son. Without the art of the storyteller, of course, such a tale would fall flat. It might even be a platitude. But it is so truthfully wrought that it keeps one in continual suspense. The adventure of the gambler to Cripple Creek, his return to a wife whom he might have so easily misunderstood, his subsequent discovery of a way out in

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New Raynham, keep one thrilled and enchanted, and give one the strongest pleasure in the sympathies in which Mr. White is so rich. Considering the deep Biblical influence in these stories, one is particularly interested in the first, a sex rectangle. As a national type Lalla Longford is worth meeting. Mr. White portrays her with paternal latitude. "Most of all she dared in her clothes. No one would imagine that the tautly tailored person, sailing like a trim schooner down Constitution Street by day, could strip for action like a battleship by night and show where every ounce was of the hundred and sixty pounds tonnage she carried—and show it a great glistening jewel of life, as much vitalized on her arms and broad, dimpled back as in her face, which changed every moment as the winds of feeling played through the wide-open windows of her heart." Lalla's discovery of the oversoul is funny. It prepares for the conclusion as to her real trouble, that she would neither fish nor cut bait. Her picturesque father calls it "yer hellish selfishness." But Mr. White is not so definite as the father who prescribes grandchildren and unselfishness for a daughter quite as polygamous as himself.

"God's Puppets" ends with a footnote on the Golden Age, an age that has never died for Mr. White. As a parable it is excellent, but it is excellent for something besides its pattern. Mr. White has shown how bourgeois actualities can be irradiated with a wisdom of the heart. Something that is the best of America he has put into this book. Call it democracy or what you will, it is at once inclusive and humane and tolerant and noble. It is a good thing that it has had the attestation of William Allen White.

F. H.

The Measuring of History

Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty, by Frederick Adams Woods, M.D. New York: Henry Holt & Co. The Influence of Monarchs, by Frederick Adams Woods, M.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Is War Diminishing? by Frederick Adams Woods, M.D. and Alexander Baltzly. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co.

THE recent publication of Dr. Frederick Adams Woods's "Is War Diminishing?" provides a convenient occasion for giving some account of the work of a man who holds that the human record should be regarded as part of the material of science and not as a department of literature, and that, so conceived, history will yield to the scientific investigator a harvest of useful knowledge not less valuable than that which has rewarded the labors of those who work with the microscope and the test-tube.

In the three volumes which are the subject of this contribution Dr. Woods has formulated the science of historiometry—the measurement of history. The first volume, "Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty," was published ten years ago. The object of this investigation was to discover the relative importance of heredity and environment in determining the mental and moral characteristics of man.

It is obvious that in order to measure the influence of heredity and environment upon the lower animals nothing more is necessary than the collection and examination of the results of a very large number of carefully conducted experimental breedings. In the case of man, however, such experimentation is impossible. The only alternative is to go to the records of human breeding as genealogy presents them, and, by the aid of history note the degree of resemblance between known individuals and their ancestors.

For the purpose of such an enquiry one group of human beings is unrivalled in the richness of the material it offers. There is not one man in a thousand who knows even the names of his eight great-grandparents; there is not one in five million of whose great-grandparents there remain accounts from which their mental and moral traits may be learned.

From this general obscurity there emerge the royal families of Europe. Here the record is quite clear on the point of consanguinity. In regard to mental and moral characteristics each extreme has been dealt with by the historians, and mediocrity is a reasonable inference when the page of history is blank.

By consulting many hundreds of volumes—encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, general and special histories, and memoirs—it was possible to reach a definite conclusion as to the consensus of opinion regarding each person to be included in the investigation. Two scales of one to ten were then adopted, one for moral and one for mental qualities, and to each individual were assigned scale-numbers on a uniform system of valuation. With the character and achievements of each man and woman in the group quantitatively expressed it was a simple matter to measure the relation between the mental and moral qualities of each of the graded individuals and those of their blood relatives.

The prodigious labor involved in gathering together and analyzing the material utilized in "Heredity in Royalty" gave the most striking results. Dr. Woods has proved by incontrovertible evidence that heredity alone accounts for at least ninety per cent of intellectual differences. "We are forced to the conclusion," he says, "that all those rough differences in intellectual activity which are susceptible of grading on a scale of ten are due to predetermined differences in the primary germ-cells." On the moral side of character Dr. Woods finds that heredity exerts in all probability a force equally potent. Not the least important principle developed by his research is that there exists a distinct correlation between mental and moral qualities. Upon this vital question Dr. Woods says: "Analyzing all the grades, we find that the higher grades for virtues possess a higher average of intellectual grading, and that this rise is almost perfectly uniform for both male and female groups taken separately. An average of the two makes a curve that leaves practically nothing to be desired."

In his second volume, "The Influence of Monarchs," Dr. Woods applies the methods of historiometry to the record of national growth and decline in France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Turkey, Scotland, and England. In this enquiry the conditions of fourteen countries during an average of six centuries each are matched against the personalities of their monarchs. Plus, minus, and plus-minus signs are given to each monarch and to each reign, on the basis of an enormous collection of historical statements, and the problem is to measure the correlation between the character of the monarch and the state of the country.

After counting against the correlation every instance in which a plus-minus condition appears opposite a plus or a minus monarch, Dr. Woods finds that out of 116 superior rulers no less than 105 were clearly associated with advancing conditions in their countries. If instead of throwing all doubtful cases against the correlation, these instances are halved, one-half being counted for and one-

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half against, the general result of the investigation may be expressed in the statement that out of 354 cases 70 per cent show identity between the personality of the monarch and the condition of the country, less than ten per cent show conflict, and the remainder halve their significance.

Having proved that, with the exception of England in modern times, the conditions of every country present an unmistakable correlation with the character of the monarch, Dr. Woods shows in a few pages of brilliant reasoning that the whole of the ascertained facts are consistent with the principle that monarchs cause conditions but cannot be reconciled with the opposite view.

In his most recent work, "Is War Diminishing?" Dr. Woods, who in the preparation of this volume was assisted by Mr. Alexander Baltzly, addresses himself to the task of discovering whether history furnishes any definite support to the view that periods of war are diminishing or to the opposite view that periods of war are increasing. The countries whose history is examined are Austria, Denmark, England, France, Holland, Poland, Prussia, the German Empire from 1871, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey. The period covered in most cases is from 1450 to 1914, but for England and France the research is carried back to 1100. Each year in the history of each country is classified as one of war or of peace, and the definite fact is established of just what proportion of time has been spent in one state or the other by each of the countries included in the enquiry.

The general effect of the investigation is to show that if the time element in war is alone considered there has been a decline during the past few centuries. But Dr. Woods takes care to point out that war has a relation to space and numbers as well as to time, and that he has undertaken no more in his recent volume than to tabulate peace-years and war-years for a comparatively short period. He cautions the reader to beware of drawing any final conclusions from the material presented in his volume, and directs attention to the fact that if man has existed in Europe for only 100,000 years, an enquiry covering four and a half centuries would show less than one-sixteenth of an inch on a chart one foot wide.

To the philosophy of war Dr. Woods makes a most interesting contribution in his analysis of the difference between the fighting instinct and the warring instinct. The former belongs to the individual. Its possession has almost always brought him to an untimely end, and so this instinct has, through the operation of natural selection, gradually become rarer. The warring instinct, on the other hand, is gregarious—the impulse of the group to maintain itself—and as such has not been subject to selective influences which might tend to eliminate it.

Considerations of space make it impossible to pursue further the highly suggestive discussions with which "Is War Diminishing?" abounds. No one can read this volume, or either of its companions, without being impressed by the conscientious spirit in which Dr. Woods pursues his investigations, by the scrupulous impartiality with which he applies a scientific method to his material, and by the untiring industry which he brings to the service of a mind in which the microscopic and telescopic qualities are most happily blended.

To those who are accustomed to regard history as a conspiracy against truth or, at best, as a collection of incomplete and inaccurate statements framed in a setting of prejudice, any attempt to treat the historical record as material suitable for quantitative analysis can hardly fail to appear at first sight as a futile labor. In the criticisms which have been published from time to time of Dr. Woods's historiometric investigations this sweeping challenge of his fundamental principles has been advanced here and there with some emphasis. Upon their main contention —that sound inductions of practical value cannot be made from records admittedly defective and faulty—the author has met his critics with a paradox in whose cogency my confidence has, I am happy to say, the support of that distinguished logician, the late Charles S. Pierce, who described it as absolutely irrefutable. Briefly stated, Woods's paradox is that, in tracing correlations in history, the greater the presumed error in the record the greater is the certainty that any correlations actually found are less in strength than they would be if the whole record were absolutely true—in other words, that the errors of history produce an understatement of all correlative values.

"The supposed errors of history," says the author of his "Influence of Monarchs," "and the difficulties of grading act as two united strains of tension to pull the co-efficients down towards zero, which would be the co-efficient for random distribution. If the co-efficients can stand the strain without declining, then, roughly speaking, we may conclude both that the historical foundation is just and that the method of procedure is sound."

The logical force of this argument is irresistible. Historiometry, however, need not depend for recognition upon any formal support of its method. Its strongest claim to a place in the brotherhood of the sciences is that its results yield a high presumption of its scientific worth when they are compared with those of anthropometry.

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The data of anthropometry are virtually exact; they are considered to be free from those corruptions which are charged against the material of history, they have furnished us with a vast number of bodily correlations whose weight is worked out to the fifth place of decimals. These correlations refer to matters susceptible of measurement by scale and foot-rule—to the height, hair-color, eye-color, and so on, of men and women—and it is from this source that the laws of the inheritance of physical traits in man have been induced. The historiometric researches here under discussion deal with the inheritance of mental and moral qualities and with human action and its consequences. If the correlations which it has established had been in violent conflict with those of anthropometry a serious question would have arisen as to the reliability of historical data. The fact is that the historiometric correlations follow very closely those of the exacter science, and they derive from this circumstance a specific authority which cannot properly be attacked on general grounds.

If Dr. Woods's conclusions are to be disputed it can only be done by a point-to-point criticism of the gradings from which his correlations are worked out. He has placed at the disposal of his readers complete lists of his historical sources, and these are so arranged that his whole material about any individual or about any country can be identified at a glance. If he has made his grading of a certain king from the pages of Stubbs, Green, Gardiner, and the Encyclopedia Britannica the fact is so stated.

Unless the whole work of the world's historians is to be dismissed as worthless, the dissenter from the historiometric method, or from some particular correlation established by that method, must prove one of two things if he is to make his position tenable—either that the historiometer has presented inaccurately the statements of his authorities, or that other authorities exist, of equal or superior credibility, whose statements run counter to those accepted by the investigator.

Although historiometry has been the subject of much discussion in the press, in the magazines, and in scientific periodicals, no criticism of this nature has come to light. Until it does, and its justice has been proved, the conclusions presented by Dr. Woods in the volumes which supply the subject of this article must stand as a valid contribution to the interpretation of history.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

Fairy Land

The Prairie Wife, by Arthur Stringer. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $1.25.

THERE never was a woman who felt, talked or acted like the Prairie Wife nor any actual experiences that unwound with such reel-like facility. A spoiled child of fortune returns to "nature" and loves the shack and the prairie and her husband. Everything goes beautifully, from the terrible prairie fire that threatens their wheat crop, but obligingly permits itself to be put out just in the nick of time, to the horrible impending frost that turns into a warm Chinook at the critical moment. A son is born to her without a doctor, a nurse or even a layette. Her husband makes a fortune and the railroad comes right to the front door of their gorgeous new house, and they acquire a "six-cylinder car with tan slip-covers and electric lights." All this does Mr. Stringer's muse cleverly and entertainingly celebrate. Thus is the adult infant permitted to see his dreams come true.

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Her Right to a Career

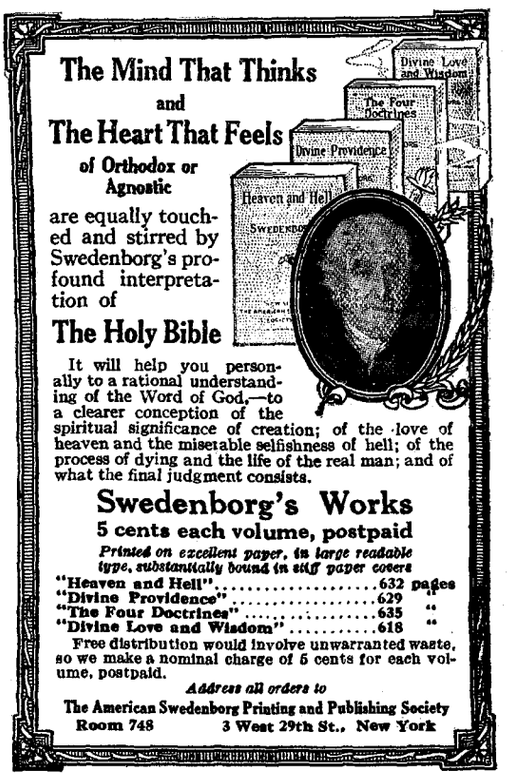
Clipped Wings, by Rupert Hughes. New York: Harper & Brothers. $1.35.

THE struggle between love and ambition is as old in story-telling as fiction itself; but the contest has hitherto been essentially a masculine affair, with the woman as the pawn or the prize. Now the theme has been given a new turn, and a woman has become the chooser. Sheila Kemble, descendant of Siddons, daughter of actors, proves her faith in the heritage and becomes a star. Her gifted parents let her work out her destiny, and when she elects to marry a layman from the business world they sigh, but as Roger said, "would no more oppose Sheila than they would oppose the Twentieth Century Limited in full flight." And so they were married—with express-train swiftness, but with equal certainty both of their mutual affection and of their individual ambitions. Sheila was instinctively of the stage: she could not cut a rehearsal even to be married; she could not break a contract even for a honeymoon; it would have been an offense against nature. She was of the aristocracy of the theatre, and she obeyed its laws. Bert Winfield, on the other hand, came of a line of manufacturers whose women had followed the calling of wives and mothers, not a profession—especially so damning a profession as acting. To see his wife crushed in another man's arms behind the footlights was to put murder in his heart. To tour the country on one-night stands as the husband of the star was to taint his self-respect as a man. He put it up to her: her love, or her ambition? And because it was mating time with her, she turned her back on the stage. Matrimony clipped her powerful wings. The story is of her nature as a woman struggling to suppress her nature as an artist. Mr. Hughes handles the subject with skill and consistency. His work places him head and shoulders above the ranks—in the select school of sincere American novelists.

Damaged Goods

The Story of Julia Page, by Kathleen Norris. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.35.

A WOMAN'S successful climb from social depths to social heights avails her little if, even at the age of fifteen, the victim of the cynical curiosity born of a rotten environment, she has lost that apparently single feminine virtue, chastity. Such is the contention as to this heroine. Not that the 421st page finds her outcast. On the contrary, it finds her socially established in London, adored of duchesses. But after years of cruel suffering at the hands of her husband, to whom she had bravely made a pre-marital "confession," and who typifies the conventional morality which neither understands, forgives, nor forgets, she finally comes to accept his valuation of herself, as damaged goods. She accepts her rôle of simulated happiness, gratitude and humility. All of which sounds very profound. But Mrs. Norris is one of that numerous array of novelists whose extraordinarily sharp surface observation passes for depth. The story of Julia Page consists of surface descriptions of poverty, surface analyses of character, of conduct, of sex, of morality. "What a mess we've all made of marrying!" says Julia, referring specifically to herself and her friends. But to-day we expect our serious novelists to contribute to our inquiry into why so much in human affairs is a mess. This Mrs. Norris fails to do.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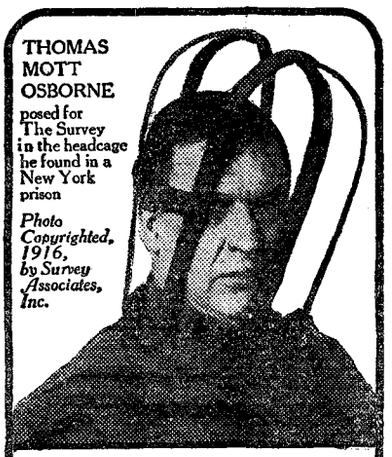

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STATE OF NEW YORK } ss:
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared ROBERT HALLOWELL, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE NEW REPUBLIC and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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